

The Maryland Historical Magazine



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GENERAL WASHINGTON, HIS AIDES AND WOUNDED PRISONER.

Detail from John Trumbull's Painting,
"Capture of the Hessians at Trenton, December 26, 1776."

Robert Hanson Harrison is the mounted figure behind Washington's outstretched hand. The other aides are Tench Tilghman and William Smith of New York, who supports the Hessian, Colonel Rahl. As adjutant to the General, the artist was in close association with Harrison at this time.

Courtesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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A LOST MAN OF MARYLAND¹

By GEORGE T. NESS, JR.

Lost from the public mind by the passage of many years is the memory of a Marylander who was one of those named to the original Supreme Court of the United States by President George Washington in 1789. Strangely enough, the appointment was not finally accepted.

Of the five men from Maryland who have been honored by appointment to the Supreme Court but two are well remembered today. Samuel Chase, immortalized by being one of the four Maryland signers of the Declaration of Independence, was the central figure in the only impeachment proceeding against a justice of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, one of the really great justices of the United States, is widely remembered, particularly as the author of the opinion of the Court in the famous Dred Scott case of 1857.

Thomas Johnson is fairly well known in Maryland history for he was the first governor of the State elected under the original Constitution in 1777, but his short tenure of two years on the Court is not so well remembered. Although he served for twenty-five years, Gabriel Duval could be identified by but few people today, while Robert Hanson Harrison, Maryland's first appointee to the tribunal, had one of the most distinguished careers in the history of the State. Yet he may be called the *Lost Man of Maryland*.²

¹ Copyright 1940 by George T. Ness, Jr.

² For aid in the preparation of this paper the writer desires to record his indebtedness to Hon. Carroll T. Bond, Hon. Walter J. Mitchell, and Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie who for some time have worked to dispel the mists obscuring the career of Harrison, and to Mrs. Ruth Carpenter, La Plata; Dr. M. L. Radoff and Mr. Arthur Trader, Annapolis; Mrs. Lewis Hayden, Baltimore, and Mrs. J. A. Johnston of the Virginia Historical Society. Acknowledgment is also made to the editor of the *Magazine* for general assistance during the progress of this study.

I

Harrison was born in Charles County, Maryland, in the year 1745. His father, Richard Harrison, was of a distinguished Maryland family which had apparently lived in the colony for upwards of a century for we find a Richard Harrison in the "Early Settlers List" of the Land Office as the owner of Holly Spring, 1664, and Harrison's Venture, 1671, in Charles County. On February 18, 1748, one of the militia companies of Charles County which made a return of 182 members of "foot," was commanded by Captain Richard Harrison, presumably father of the subject of this sketch.³

His mother was Dorothy Hanson whose forbears had long played an important role in the events of the colony. Her father was Robert Hanson who died in 1748 and who, it is believed, built "Betty's Delight," in Charles County.⁴

John Hanson of Mulberry Grove, the first president of the Congress of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, sometimes incorrectly referred to as the first president of the United States, was Dorothy Hanson Harrison's first cousin. John Hanson's son, Chancellor Alexander Contee Hanson, with whom Robert Hanson Harrison was often associated, was therefore the latter's second cousin and in the same degree of relationship were such other famous men of Maryland as Thomas Stone, Governor John H. Stone and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.⁵

That the Harrison family was one of substantial position is demonstrated by the fact that in 1776 Richard Harrison paid taxes on the following property: "Richards Purchase als Pleasure," 300 acres; "Brits Adventure," 42 acres; "Hansons Plains," 88 acres; "Dover Clifts," 100 acres; "Cough [Cow] Springs," 400 acres; "Carpenters Square," 150 acres; "Antworp," 200 acres; "Hansonton," 277 acres; "Pensylvania," 96- $\frac{2}{3}$ acres; "Petsyvania" [Pitsylvania], 120 acres; "Tompkins Long Lookt For," 200 acres and "St. Edmonds" [St. Edward's?] 73 acres. It appears from the above that some of the Hanson land was included in the wedding dowry of Dorothy Hanson.⁶

It is not certain just where the Harrison home estate was, but it is believed that it was Walnut Landing on the Potomac River about a mile west of the present Riverside, for it was on this property that

³ Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Sidelights on Maryland History*, I, 274.

⁴ J. Bruce Kremer, *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove*, opposite p. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, opposite p. 40.

⁶ Land records, Annapolis. The spelling of the names of various plantations is not the same in all references.

the grave stones of two of Richard Harrison's wives, Elizabeth and Dorothy, were found. Elizabeth was born in 1718, died in 1743 and had three children, Verlinda, Joseph and Mary Wade, the last of whom died in infancy. Dorothy, mother of the subject of this story, was born September 10, 1721, and died March 3, 1751.⁷

That the Harrisons were in comfortable circumstances and entertained in the proper style of the day is recorded by Nicholas Cresswell who visited them in May and June 1774. He found Richard Harrison "a very intelligent man" who seemed to "take a pleasure in communicating the customs and manner of his countrymen."⁸

As far as is known Richard and Dorothy Harrison had three children, all sons.⁹ When the first was born in 1745 he was given the name of his maternal grandfather, Robert Hanson. Little is known of the boyhood of the eldest son who like many of the young men of the day was educated for the law, and before long was well on the way toward a career of distinction and public service. His personality was engaging for he had many friends and was highly regarded by those with whom he came in contact. An associate described him as "One in whom every man had confidence and by whom no man was deceived."¹⁰

By 1769 young Harrison seems to have been established in his profession at Alexandria, Virginia. For several years he practiced there with no mean success and is consequently sometimes referred to as a Virginian. Among his associates in social and business matters were George Mason of Gunston Hall, George Washington and George Johnston.¹¹

From the notations in Washington's diaries of payment of fees to Harrison we establish the fact that their relations were at least partly professional. One of the things which they had in common was religion, for Harrison was also of a Church of England family.

Before long the young advocate became a frequent visitor to spacious and hospitable Mt. Vernon¹² and many evenings and week ends found him in the pleasant society of the man destined to play an important role in the life of the yet unborn nation. From such

⁷ Rev. Reginald B. Stevenson, present rector of Durham Church, near Nanjemoy Creek, recently located these graves and removed them to the churchyard.

⁸ *Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, 19.

⁹ Robert Hanson Harrison, William Harrison and Walter Hanson Harrison. See will of Richard Harrison, office of Register of Wills, Charles County. See also Land Records, liber V, No. 3, Folio 516, in deed of partition between the brothers.

¹⁰ J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II 309; this statement is attributed to Richard Kidder Meade by Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie in "Robert Hanson Harrison, Colonel and Judge," *Sunday Sun*, Baltimore, March 20, 1932.

¹¹ *Diaries of George Washington*, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., I, 119.

¹² Emily S. Whiteley, *Washington and His Aides-de-Camp*, 12, 189; also Miss Bowie.

associations, both by the fireside and on exhilarating hunting expeditions over the broad acres by the Potomac there developed between them a strong attachment which continued after the Revolution and was terminated only by Harrison's untimely death.

It was probably while in Alexandria that Harrison became acquainted with George Johnston, Sr., the man who "drew and seconded the fiery resolution" of Patrick Henry against the Stamp Act.¹³ To the Johnston home, Belvale, on the "back" road near the Glebe,¹⁴ the young Marylander found his way on many occasions for he married a daughter of its patriotic proprietor. The marriage must have taken place some time between 1765 and 1772, for although there are no records ascertainable so far, Harrison was but twenty years of age in 1765 and there were two young daughters living when he entered the army in 1775.

When the ominous notes of discord began to arise from the American colonies both Washington and Harrison were found among the protestants. On July 18, 1774, when the "Freeholders and Inhabitants of Fairfax County, Virginia" met at Alexandria and drew up the famous Virginia Resolves, "Geo. Washington, Esq'r" was the chairman and "Robt. Harrison, Gent." was the "clerk of said meeting."¹⁵ A committee was appointed to adopt such measures as should be necessary with power to call a general meeting in the event of an emergency. Among the members were George Washington, George Mason and Robert Hanson Harrison.¹⁶ Harrison had already been appointed to the Committee of Correspondence of Alexandria.¹⁷

When on June 15, 1775, on nomination of Thomas Johnson of Maryland, Washington was unanimously appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army by the Second Continental Congress, one of the first letters of congratulations he received was from the Militia Company of Alexandria, dated July 8, 1775, and written by Robert Hanson Harrison, in which the General was told that the company was ready to march in the service of the colonies.¹⁸

II

The lot of the Commander-in-Chief in the field was not an easy one, but he had the service of several loyal young men in his military

¹³ *Diaries*, I, 119.

¹⁴ Fairfax Harrison, "With Braddock's Army," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXII, 310; *Diaries*, I, 119.

¹⁵ *Virginia Magazine*, XVIII, 169; *Diaries*, I, 344.

¹⁶ *Virginia Magazine*, XVIII, 169.

¹⁷ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, VIII, 52.

¹⁸ Whiteley, 13.

family. Joseph Reed was his first secretary and as aides he had Thomas Mifflin, John Trumbull, Edmund Randolph and George Baylor. It was as a member of this group that Robert H. Harrison, already a lieutenant in the 3rd Virginia Regiment,¹⁹ was first invited to use his talents in behalf of the Cause, and it was in essentially the same association with his superior that he served throughout the term of his military experience.

It appears that Harrison hesitated before accepting the position as aide which would of necessity take him far from home, and there was no degree of certainty as to when he might have a chance to return for even a short visit. It is possible, but by no means certain that he was not in the best of health at this time, for it is known that at least by 1777 he was subject to much physical distress.

Probably the strongest reason for his reluctance to leave home was the fact that his two young daughters, Sarah and Dorothy,²⁰ were now motherless.

The decision was not an easy one, for the daughters needed his care, but the call of his country and the request of his friend, George Washington, were most impelling. The deciding factor probably was the offer of a sister-in-law, one of the Johnstons, to take the girls into her own family. With this assurance as to their proper care he set out for Washington's headquarters.²¹

Reed left the field in October to return to Philadelphia for personal reasons and a few days later Harrison arrived in Cambridge. We find an order of 6 Nov. 1775: "Robert Hanson Harrison, Esq., is appointed Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, and all orders, whether written or verbal coming from the General through Mr. Harrison are to be punctually obeyed."²²

Washington sorely needed the experienced Reed and on November 20, 1775, wrote him about returning, saying that Baylor was not a good penman and Randolph was away on family affairs, and that Robert H. Harrison "though sensible, clear [clever] and perfectly confidential" did not have the wide experience needed at this time and that while he did not want him to come against his interests and

¹⁹ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution*, 211.

²⁰ Sarah probably was named after Sarah Johnston, her maternal grandmother, possibly her own mother, and Dorothy after her paternal grandmother, Dorothy Hanson Harrison.

²¹ Miss Bowic; see also Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, II, 240, for slightly different viewpoint but probably not as accurate.

²² *Writings of George Washington*, W. C. Ford, ed., III, 201, citing Orderly book, 6 November, 1775; Heitman, 211.

inclination, he did need his services.²³ Reed did return but shortly afterward resigned and the order was published appointing Harrison as secretary "in the room of Joseph Reed, Esq., whose private concerns will not permit him to continue in that office."²⁴ From that day on the young Marylander became one of Washington's most trusted associates and it was said that "no person possessed the confidence of Washington more entirely than Col. Harrison and to few was he indebted for more valuable services."²⁵

The value of the young Marylander to the Commander in the turbulent times was well expressed by others. Timothy Pickering, in referring to Harrison's part in the campaign of 1777 said he was "a lawyer, a man of sense and a good and ready writer."²⁶ In fact he went even further by saying:

I have even reason to believe that not only the composition, the clothing of the ideas, but the ideas themselves, originated generally with the writers; that Hamilton and Harrison in particular, were scarcely in any degree his amanuenses . . . at headquarters one day, at Valley Forge, Col. Harrison came down from the General's chamber, with his brow knit, and thus accosted me, "I wish to the Lord the General would give me the heads or some idea, of what he would have me write."²⁷

While military secretary Harrison was constantly associated with other outstanding young men who were also on the staff. Among them were Alexander Contee Hanson, James McHenry and Tench Tilghman, all from Maryland, and Richard K. Meade of Virginia. It was Tilghman who said the "Weight of his [Washington's] Business falls upon Mr. Harrison and myself, but as he [Harrison] is often troubled with a most painful disorder I then work double tides."²⁸ To this group came "Alexander Hamilton. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison, more devoted to his chief than all the others put together, had a great capacity for friendship, and hovered over Hamilton protectingly. The 'old secretary' as he [Harrison] was always called, dubbed the new colleague 'the little lion'."²⁹

That Washington placed great dependence in the secretary and delegated to him many tasks of importance is well illustrated by the following letter to Harrison from Morristown in the trying winter of 1777:

²³ *Writings of Washington*, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., IV, 104. Some authorities use the word 'clear' and some 'clever.'

²⁴ Ford, IV, 84, citing *Orderly book*, 16 May, 1776; Heitman, 211.

²⁵ *Writings of George Washington*, Jared Sparks, ed., III, 136; H. L. Carson, *History of the United States Supreme Court*, I, 146, also says he was a special friend of Washington.

²⁶ Charles W. Upham, *Life of Timothy Pickering*, IV, 488.

²⁷ Paul L. Ford, *George Washington*, 66.

²⁸ Samuel Harrison, *Memoir of Lt. Col. Tench Tilghman*, 26.

²⁹ David Loth, *Alexander Hamilton*, 75.

. . . I beg of you to consult, and in my name advise and direct such measures as shall appear most effectual to stop the progress of the Small pox; when I recall to mind the unhappy situation of our Northern army last year I shudder at the consequence of this disorder if some vigorous steps are not taken to stop the spreading of it. Vigorous measures must be adopted (however disagreeable and inconvenient to Individuals) to remove the Infected and Infection before we feel too sensibly the effects. . . . I wish to Heaven the expected reinforcements were joind. (under the rose I say it) My situation with respect to numbers is more distressing than it has ever been yet; and at a time when the Enemy are Assembling their Force from all Quarters no doubt with a view either to Rout this Army or to move toward Philadelphia as I cannot suppose them so much uninformed of our strength as to believe they are acting upon a Defensive Plan at this hour.⁸⁰

In a letter of October 17, 1777 to Richard Henry Lee, Washington discussed the proposed reorganization of the Board of War, and in reply, the former stated that it was proposed that the new members should be Colonels Reed, Pickering and Lieut.-Colonel Harrison. But Lee's prediction failed. To the Board were appointed Mifflin, Pickering and Harrison, but the plottings of those then in control being well known, and some of the associations not deemed desirable, Harrison refused the doubtful honor.⁸¹

As a member of Washington's official family Harrison saw much action. On August 27, 1776, at Long Island, his distress at writing of the unfortunate results was somewhat assuaged, perhaps, by the high honors won by General Smallwood and his Maryland Brigade.⁸² He was at Chatterton's Hill, and after the retreat from the Brandywine it is said he was so exhausted and so distressed by the turn of events that General Pickering had to write the routine dispatch.⁸³

When confusion developed out of retreat at Monmouth, Harrison pressed to the front in a vain effort to stem the tide of the rout caused by the disobedience of the ex-British officer, General Charles Lee. As the men streamed by, "fleeing from a shadow,"⁸⁴ the Marylander met Mercer, Lee's aide, and asked, "For God's sake, what is the cause of this retreat?" When Mercer replied, "If you will proceed you will see several columns of foot and horse," Harrison retorted, "We came to that field to meet columns of foot and horse."⁸⁵

At the subsequent courtmartial of Lee, Harrison was one of the chief witnesses before the military tribunal which rendered a verdict

⁸⁰ Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, VII, 37.

⁸¹ Sparks, V, 97, 99, 194; Ford, VI, 121, 124, 254, 255; Upham, I, 183, 188; for discussion of the Board see John Fiske, *The American Revolution*, II, 36 *et seq.*

⁸² Sparks, IV, 68, 513 and for tribute to the Maryland Brigade see Fiske, I, 209.

⁸³ Whiteley, 52.

⁸⁴ H. B. Carrington, *Battles of the Revolution*, 439.

⁸⁵ Rupert Hughes, *George Washington*, 368.

of guilty of disobedience, misbehavior and disrespect for the Commander-in-chief.³⁶ When Lee later attempted to stir anew the opposition to Washington by making false accusations, it was seen that again the young men of the staff would have to come to the assistance of their beloved Chief. Laurens urged Hamilton to take up his "Junius" pen and the latter suggested that they enlist the help of the "Old Secretary," for he knew only too well the earlier plot.³⁷

One of the very difficult problems confronting the warring armies was the exchange of prisoners. The working out of these details was turned over to Washington who assigned to Harrison the task of meeting with British officers—of not less than equal rank—to negotiate an agreement. That this was no easy assignment is shown by the fact that a number of conferences were held by the representatives from 1777 until the spring of 1779. Harrison frequently worked with Hamilton, Elias Boudinot, William Grayson and others.

At one meeting the British officer, Col. Walcott, handed Harrison a letter in which it was said that Washington's desires were, "groundless, unprecedented and inconsistent with any degree of reason and common sense." The Marylander was so incensed that he would not accept the message.³⁸

For at least part of the year 1779 Harrison was not in camp but was in Baltimore, engaged in pursuits not entirely military. On Feb. 16, 1779, Samuel Smith (later General), writing from Baltimore Town to Otho Holland Williams, in camp with the 6th Maryland Regiment, said that Col. Harrison was in town, "paying unsuccessful but exceedingly assiduous court to 'Miss N. B.'" ³⁹ What a shame for the purposes of history that General Smith was so chivalrous! Apparently "unsuccessful court" was correct for no record of Harrison's marriage to "Miss N. B." or any other lady has been found.

Harrison must have become discouraged, or else his leave was up for on March 16, Smith mentioned in another letter that the Colonel was about to leave town.

III

In the fall of 1780 Alexander Hamilton, anxious for a leave of absence in order that he might visit the attractive Elizabeth Schuyler, was forced to forego that pleasure because both Harrison and Meade were away from headquarters. The latter had gone south in October "for business and for love" and Harrison had journeyed with him

³⁶ Lee Papers, in *The New York Historical Society Collections*, VI, 69.

³⁷ Whiteley, 78.

³⁸ Sparks, IV, 381; Ford, V, 312.

³⁹ "Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers," by Dr. Elizabeth Merritt in Maryland Historical Society.

at least as far as Philadelphia.⁴⁰ A good idea of the economic condition of the times may be had from the fact that, in the depreciated currency of the day, the jaunt seems to have cost them \$3,628.00.⁴¹

This trip was not a pleasant one for the Marylander, for he was returning home because of the death of his father. In November, 1780, letters testamentary were granted to Robert Hanson Harrison, William Harrison and Walter Hanson Harrison on the estate of Richard Harrison. The will was dated July 19, 1776 and devised among other things "all his lands . . . [to] be equally divided betwixt his three well beloved sons Robert, William and Walter . . ."⁴²

By indenture dated March 1, 1781, the brothers divided the property, substantially as was previously set forth.⁴³ Robert received Cow Spring, Pittsylvania Stone's Resurvey, Dover Clifts and part of Watson's purchase.

It might well be imagined that Washington feared that the death of the father would take from him the services of his much needed secretary. As the eldest of the family, and as a lawyer, most of the responsibility of the supervision of family affairs would naturally devolve upon Robert.

As early as January 23, 1776, Washington had written to Reed that "Mr. Harrison is the only gentleman of my family that can offer me the least assistance in writing" and that he would be "distressed beyond measure" to lose him.⁴⁴ It had been no easy task in the first place for him to leave his daughters who were at the age when they needed his care and affection. However, after remaining at home for a while Harrison did return to the side of his Chief, but certainly with the idea of resigning.

By March, 1781, a vacancy had arisen in the position of Chief Judge of the General Court of Maryland, and the Governor's Council⁴⁵ appointed Harrison "in the room of William Paca, resigned."⁴⁶ The appointment must have been very gratifying to Harrison, not only because of the high honor, but because of the certain income as well as the fact that his presence at home would enable him to attempt the repair of his desperate personal affairs.

Accordingly, Harrison tendered his resignation and withdrew from

⁴⁰ Ralph E. Bailey, *An American Colossus*, 94.

⁴¹ Whiteley, 135.

⁴² Register of Wills' Office, Charles County; see also Land Records, Liber V, No. 3, folio 516. These show that Richard Harrison had a third wife, Elizabeth, who died Nov. 25, 1780. It appears that she was a daughter of George Dent of Charles Co.

⁴³ Land record already cited.

⁴⁴ Sparks, III, 257.

⁴⁵ Governor's Council was composed of John H. Stone, Jeremiah T. Chase, James Bred, Daniel Carroll and Samuel T. Wright.

⁴⁶ *Maryland Reports*, 2 Harris and McHenry.

the official family, a difficult step after the long years of service. Some idea of his great feeling may be seen in his letter of March 26, 1781, to Alexander Hamilton from New Windsor, N. Y. He said:

I came here, my dear Hamilton, on Friday night, to bid adieu to the General, to you, and to my other friends as a military man, and regret much that I have not had the happiness of seeing you. Tomorrow I am obliged to depart; and it is possible our separation may be forever. But be this as it may, it can only be with respect to our persons; for as to affection, mine for you will continue to my latest breath. This event will probably surprise you; but from your knowledge of me, I rely you will conclude, at the instant, that no light considerations would have taken me from the army; and, I think I might safely have rested the matter here. However, as the friendship between us gives you a claim to something more, and as I am not indifferent about character, and shall be anxious to have the esteem of all who are good, and virtuously great, I shall detail to you, my friend, the more substantial reasons which have led to my present conduct. I go from the army, then, because I have found, on examination, that my little fortune, earned by an honest and hard industry, was becoming embarrassed—to attend to the education of my children—to provide if possible, for the payment of a considerable sum of sterling money and interest, with which I stand charged, on account of the land I lately received from my honored father, for equality of partition between myself and two brothers—to save a house which he had begun, and which, without instant attention, would be ruined, or at least greatly injured—to provide, if possible, for the payment of goods, which far exceed any profits I can make from my estate—and because the State of Maryland, in a flattering manner, have been pleased to appoint me to a place, very respectable in its nature, corresponding with my former and very interesting to my whole future life and support. They have appointed me to the Chair of their Supreme Court.⁴⁷ These, my friends, are the motives to my present resolution. My own feelings are satisfied on the occasion, though I cannot but regret parting with the most valuable acquaintances I have; and I hope they will justify me most fully to you, my Hamilton, especially when you consider, besides, the time I have been in the service, and the compensation I have received. . . . Adieu.

Yours, in haste, most affectionately,

Robt. H. Harrison.⁴⁸

The Maryland Constitution of 1776 had set up a Judicial Department composed of the General Court, Court of Chancery, Court of Admiralty and Court of Appeals. The first superseded the old Provincial Court and had original jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters on both the Eastern and Western Shores and of which Chief Justice Taney once said that its judges were selected from among the

⁴⁷ This is incorrect for there was no such court. What is meant is the General Court and error probably arose in copying Harrison's original letter. This mistake has appeared many times.

⁴⁸ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, John C. Hamilton, ed., I, 215; But see Upham, IV, 489, where Harrison is said to have been in ill health.

most eminent members of the Bar. It is interesting to note that four of the five Marylanders appointed to the United States Supreme Court have come from its bench rather than from that of the Court of Appeals.⁴⁹

It was to this court, before the bar of which resounded the brilliant and persuasive oratory of Samuel Chase, William Pinkney, John B. Bordley, Roger B. Taney and Gabriel Duval and many others, that Harrison now came to preside with Nicholas Thomas and Alexander Contee Hanson as associate judges. Before them on behalf of the State often appeared as attorney-general, the acknowledged leader of the legal profession in Maryland, Luther Martin.

Early in his judicial career, May term, 1781, before the court were presented many prominent persons on the charge of treason. Among them were many clergymen and such familiar family names as Addison, Boucher, Dulany (three of them) Key, Gordon, Allen and others, appeared on the docket because of suspected loyalty to Great Britain. In the May term, 1782, most of the actions were struck off but not until after the confiscation of a great amount of property.⁵⁰

That the judges in those days could well attend to their private affairs due to the relatively small amount of litigation may be easily understood when it is found that the cases reported in the General Court and the Court of Appeals from May 1780 to May 1790 fill but one volume of *Reports*, 2 Harris and McHenry. It is with no little interest that one may glance through that volume and read opinions by Chief Judge Harrison, and note here and there a dissent by him.

The position on the Bench did not require Harrison's withdrawal from other phases of public life, nor was he forgotten by his friends in Virginia, for we note that in a joint resolution of the Virginia General Assembly dated June 14, 1782, "the Honorable Robert Hanson Harrison be requested to inform the Legislature and Executive of Maryland, that this Assembly has received with much cordiality and pleasure the very friendly invitation of Maryland to join our marine forces for the defense of the commerce of Chesapeake Bay and its Dependencies. . . ." ⁵¹

When the territorial controversy between Massachusetts and New York arose the agents of the two states agreed upon a commission to consider their relative claims. Harrison was selected as one of the members; the others were Thomas Johnson, also of Maryland, John Rutledge of South Carolina, George Wythe, Wm. Grayson and

⁴⁹ Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland, A History*, 89.

⁵⁰ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI, 162; XIII, 153.

⁵¹ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 192.

James Monroe, of Virginia, George Read of Delaware, Isaac Smith and William Paterson of New Jersey.⁵² In 1785 a vacancy in the position of minister to the Hague arose and Monroe wrote to both Jefferson and Madison that those considered for the appointment were John Rutledge, Governor Livingston of New Jersey and Robert Hanson Harrison. Rutledge was chosen although he later declined to serve.⁵³

That Harrison was not forgotten by friends whom he had not seen for considerable time is shown in the letter from John Jay to Washington in 1781, from Madrid, in which he referred to a Mr. Harrison he had met in Cadiz, "a very worthy kinsman of your secretary" with the request that when Washington wrote to "Your honest friend, Col. Harrison, remember me to him."⁵⁴

But Robert Hanson was not the only one of the Harrison men to be in public life for his brother William was a member of Congress from Maryland from 1785 to 1787. His other brother, Walter Hanson, was elected rector of Durham Parish, Oct. 29, 1779.⁵⁵

In Harrison's term of service from 1781 to 1790 he was associated on the bench with such other judges as Robert Goldsborough, Jr., and Jeremiah Townley Chase. It is interesting to find the Council making appropriations in varying sums of money, bushels of wheat and other modes of compensation to "Hon. Robert Hanson Harrison" for payment of salary—often "on account last year's salary."⁵⁶ Apparently budget balancing is not a new difficulty!

The Chief Judge was not a man to forget old allegiances, nor did his loyalty fade, for upon the surrender of Cornwallis he was one of the first to write and congratulate his old commander who, on November 18, 1781, replied. After expressing his hope of seeing Harrison and inviting him to come to Mt. Vernon, the General continued:

I thank you for your kind Congratulations on the Capitulation of Cornwallis. It is an interesting event and may be productive of much good if properly improved, but if it should be the means of relaxation, and sink us into supineness and security, it had better not have happened. Great Britain for some time past has been encouraged by the impolicy of our conduct to continue the War and should there be interference of European Politicks in her favour, peace may be further removed from us than we expect, while one

⁵² *Writings of James Monroe*, Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., I, 66.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 70, 75.

⁵⁴ Henry P. Johnston, *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, II, 9.

⁵⁵ Vestry Records, Durham Church, at Library of Congress. Copy at Maryland Historical Society.

⁵⁶ Kilty, *Laws of Maryland*, Ch. 12, 1783; *Archives of Maryland*, XLVIII, 171, 316, 452, etc.

thing we are sure of and that is, that the only certain way to obtain Peace is to be prepared for War. Policy, Interest, Economy, all unite to stimulate the States to fill the Continental Battalions and provided the means of supporting them. I hope the present favourable moment for doing it will not be neglected.⁵⁷

Throughout the years from 1785 to 1788 we find notations in Washington's diaries mentioning among his many visitors the name of Col. Harrison. Sometimes he came alone, sometimes with other distinguished personages; some of his visits were for a few days, others apparently for but a few hours. Not only did the Judge visit Mt. Vernon, but so did at least one of his daughters. On Friday, April 15, 1785, we find the entry that Col. John Allison and Miss Harrison came in the evening and left for Alexandria after dinner the next day.

In December of 1786 the Maryland legislature voted to participate in the Philadelphia convention to meet on May 14, 1787, for the purpose of strengthening the Articles of Confederation. (It is to be remembered that out of that great meeting came our Federal Constitution.) At a special session on April 10, 1787, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Sim Lee, James McHenry, Thomas Stone and Robert H. Harrison were selected as the representatives. This appointment Harrison did not accept, nor did most of the others, for the final delegation was composed of James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer and Luther Martin.

When Congress met on April 6, 1789, to count the electoral votes, it was found that all of Maryland's electors, voting for this purpose for the first time in historic Annapolis, had cast their votes for George Washington for president and for Robert Hanson Harrison for vice-president.⁵⁸

IV

In September of this year, Congress adopted the Judiciary Act which provided for the organization of the Supreme Court with six members and the Federal Circuit and District Courts. When the newly inaugurated Washington sent his nominations to the Senate for confirmation, John Jay was found to have been selected as Chief Justice, and with such notable Associate Justices as James Wilson,

⁵⁷ Fitzpatrick, *Writings*, XXIII, 351-352.

⁵⁸ Carson, I, 146; John Bach McMaster, *A History of the United States*, I, 535. Washington was unanimously elected with 69 votes. For Vice President, John Adams received 34, John Jay, 9, Harrison and Rutledge each 6, John Hancock, 4, George Clinton, 3, John Milton and Samuel Huntington each 2, and James Armstrong, Edward Telfair and Benjamin Lincoln one each.

John Rutledge, John Blair and William Cushing⁵⁹ was found the name of his former military secretary, Robert Hanson Harrison of Maryland. By this last selection the President was able to pay tribute to a personal friendship and at the same time try to draw to the public service one well qualified to execute such a trust,⁶⁰ for Harrison not only stood high in the esteem of his fellow citizens but was a man of distinguished talents. That Washington was not alone in considering Harrison a man for the Court is shown by the fact that on September 1, 1789, one using the name *Civis* wrote the new President that he was opposed to the selection of Alexander Hamilton as the Chief Justice, if such an appointment were considered, but expressed the hope that the choice would fall upon Robert Hanson Harrison for he was "the best man in the Union for the head of the Judiciary, best calculated to inspire confidence and love among our people . . . though from his retired habits not so well known throughout America as many men of high character who perhaps are not near so perfect . . . his virtues and character are not hidden from the impartial President of the United States."⁶¹

It is significant that at the time of making the appointments to the Court, Washington wrote but two of those whom he had selected, John Rutledge and Harrison. He was personally interested in the latter and on September 28, 1789, wrote:

Your friends and your fellow citizens, anxious for the respect of the Court to which you are appointed, will be happy to learn your acceptance, and no one among them will be more so than myself.⁶²

While Harrison apparently did not yearn for high office, it is also possible that ill health had a part in his decision to reject the appointment.

This declination was a matter of much regret to Washington, who on the 25th of November, 1789, wrote Harrison from New York, saying that he felt one reason for the refusal was that the Judiciary Act would remain unaltered. The President pointed out that a change was contemplated, which if enacted, would permit him to pay as much attention to his private affairs as did his present station. Since the Court would not sit until February, he again forwarded the commission, "not for the sake of urging you to accept it contrary

⁵⁹ Jay was from New York, the others were respectively from, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia and Massachusetts. Frank Monaghan, *John Jay*, 303, says Rutledge, Harrison, Wilson and Robert Livingston of New York were urged for the positions by interested friends.

⁶⁰ Sparks, X, 53; Scharf, II, 560.

⁶¹ Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, I, 35.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 42.

to your interest or convenience, but with a view of giving you a farther opportunity of informing yourself of the nature and probability of the change alluded to." He suggested that if Harrison could come to New York when the Congress assembled and associate with the members he could ascertain this with less risk of mistake before it became necessary to fill the office proffered. In any event, Harrison could send the commission back without much trouble if his "determination was absolutely fixed." He did not mean to embarrass Harrison and he would be "satisfied with whatever determination may be consonant with your best judgment and most agreeable to yourself."⁶³

On November 30th, Washington wrote Dr. McHenry that he had returned the commission to Harrison with the hope that further consideration might result in the latter's acceptance. The President enlisted the help of Hamilton who then brought pressure to bear. (One may recall Harrison's letter to him on leaving the service). Hamilton wrote on November 27, 1789:

After having labored with you in the common cause of America during the late war, and having learned your value, judge of the pleasure I feel in the prospect of a reunion of efforts in this same cause; for I consider this business of America's happiness as yet to be done. In proportion to that sentiment has been my disappointment at learning that you had declined a seat on the Bench of the United States. Cannot your determination, my dear friend, be reconsidered? One of your objections, I think, will be removed; I mean that which relates to the nature of the establishment. Many concur in opinion that its present form is inconvenient, if not impracticable. Should an alteration take place, your other objection will also be removed, for you can then be nearly as much at home as you are now. If it is possible, my dear Harrison, give yourself to us. We want men like you. They are rare at all times.⁶⁴

This matter must have been one of great anxiety for Harrison. He wanted to be at home, and from the fact that he was absent from the sessions of the Court with much frequency in 1790, and for other reasons to appear, we may safely conclude that he was by no means in good health. However, it seems that he did reconsider. Perhaps with some misgivings, he set out for New York on the 14th of January. But nature intervened. From "Bladensburgh," on January 21, 1790, he wrote to Washington:

My Dear Sir:

I left home on the 14th inst. with a view of making a journey to New York, and after being several days detained at Alexandria by indisposition

⁶³ Sparks, X, 53.

⁶⁴ *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, Henry C. Lodge, ed., IX, 464.

came thus far on the way. I now unhappily find myself in such a situation as not to be able to proceed farther. From this unfortunate event, and the apprehension that my indisposition may continue, I pray you to consider that I cannot accept the appointment of Associate Judge, with which I have been honored. What I do my dear Sir, is the result of the most painful and distressing necessity.

I entreat that you will receive the warmest returns of my gratitude for the distinguished proofs I have had of your flattering and invaluable esteem and confidence, and that you will believe that I am and shall always remain, with the most affectionate attachment, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged friend and servant.

Robert H. Harrison.

The President of the United States.⁶⁵

The sincerity, the dignity, and the pathos in this letter, are as moving today as they must have been so long ago to its recipient. James Iredell of North Carolina was appointed to fill the vacancy.

While the negotiations concerning the appointment to the Supreme Court were pending, Harrison, on Oct. 1, 1789, was named Chancellor of the State of Maryland to succeed John Rogers who had recently died. This was one of the highest judicial offices in the State, and one which any ambitious or successful lawyer would desire. But the duties of the office required his presence in Annapolis while private and other matters needed his attention at home; he was not anxious for fame nor for high position, and for reasons of health he preferred the peace and quietude of his estate by the waters of the Potomac to the more active life of the State capital. In a letter to Governor John Eager Howard, October 3, 1789, he declined this further recognition.⁶⁶

Annapolis Octob 3d. 1789

Sir,

I received yesterday, when returning from the Eastern Shore Gen Court, the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write on the 1st Instant, acquainting me that I had by the unanimous vote of the Council been elected Chancellor of the State, in the room of the Hon^{ble} Mr. Rogers deceased, and expressing that they wished to be early informed, whether I should accept the appointment.

As the administration of Justice and the duties of the office would necessarily require my immediate residence at Annapolis, and the practicability of this would depend on some previous indispensable arrangements in my own affairs, & the affairs of others in my hands, where I at present reside, which might not be accomplished, in a convenient time, I must beg leave to decline the appointment.

Your Excellency & the Hon^{ble} Board will permit me to add, that I feel

⁶⁵ *New York Times*, August 26, 1923, Sec. VII, p. 8: "Dusty Package on Capitol Shelf Held Priceless Historic Letters" (with portrait of Harrison).

⁶⁶ Photostatic copy in possession of Hon. Carroll T. Bond.

very sensibly this distinguishing mark of their approbation & confidence in my conduct, & that they have my warmest acknowledgements for it.

I have the honor to be
with the highest respect
Your Excellency's
Most Obed^t Servant
Rob : H : Harrison

His Exc^v Gov^r Howard.

Shortly after these proffered honors had been declined Harrison died at his home on the Potomac, some twenty miles from Port Tobacco, April 2, 1790. Two months later Washington wrote to Lafayette, "Poor Col. Harrison who was appointed one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court and declined is lately dead."⁶⁷

The *Maryland Gazette* of April 8, 1790, carried the notice:

Port Tobacco, Apr. 5, 1790

Died, on the second instant, at his seat on Potowmack River, in Charles County, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the honourable ROBERT HANSON HARRISON, Esquire, chief judge of the general court of the state of Maryland.

The transcendent merit of this great and excellent man need not the aid of panegyric—in civil and military life his conduct was uniformly such as will render his memory dear to every good citizen.—While he served the United States in the late war, his exertions, in the high and confidential office he held, were strenuous and unremitted—and the ability, the integrity, and the assiduity which he displayed in the administration of justice may, perhaps be equalled, they never can be exceeded.

It may be added, with justice, that no man was more eminently distinguished by the possession of every social virtue.

These qualifications make his death a calamity to the public, and an irreparable loss to his amiable and disconsolate family.

Lament, O Maryland! thy loss deplore;
Thy virtuous Harrison is now no more!
And you, who steady fortitude admire;
And you, who's bosom feels fair Virtue's fire;
And you, to whom each social merit's dear,
Drop o'er these lines a tributary tear;
For each lov'd attribute his soul possess'd,
And now in Heaven enjoys eternal rest.⁶⁸

It does not appear from available records that Harrison left a will, so it is very difficult to determine whether or not he was a man of means. The efforts put forth by his heirs over a period of years for

⁶⁷ Sparks, X, 92; Ford, XI, 481.

⁶⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, April 8, 1790. Microfilm copy at Enoch Pratt Free Library.

pensions for his military services might indicate that his fortunes never recovered from the neglect of the war period. The granting of pensions either in money or by land bounty was quite general. It is highly possible that Harrison was not paid for all of his years of service, and even if he were, it was in much depreciated currency.

V

Before examining the milestones of the many years' struggle by Sarah Easton and Dorothy Storer, his daughters, for compensation for their father's military activities, it might be added that Harrison apparently did not take a discharge when he left the army. Possibly he did not care to ask or accept it from such a close friend as his admired Commander. Perhaps he merely resigned as Washington's secretary and left the field of operations for home but retained his rank out of loyalty which forbade his asking a formal discharge.

In a letter from James Monroe in 1812, apparently written in support of a claim for a grant by the State of Virginia for Harrison's heirs, the then Secretary of State said that Harrison "served in his station with as pure and unsullied a fame as any person ever enjoyed." He added that Harrison was often exposed to danger, that he was highly respected in the councils of war and was a faithful depository of the councils of the General, of the confidential communications to him from Congress, of the military movements to be made and of all the secret councils, on the preservation of which the success of the army and the revolution itself depended. "He was a most virtuous, able and active agent in promoting every measure that was decided upon." He went on to say that Harrison's constitution received a severe shock as a result of his military services, from which, although he was the "Chief Justice" of Maryland, he was too far exhausted to permit him to enter the office of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

As to the matter of compensation Harrison received, Monroe was able to say but little but he had no doubt he had received nothing more than his regular pay by the month, depreciated as it was when received. "He was among the most diffident of men and the last to set up a pretention or make any claim for his services."

Monroe further added that he was on the same footing he himself had been when he acted as aide-de-camp to Lord Stirling, and from the point of actual field service did not serve in the Virginia Line for Lord Sterling had commanded troops from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, yet the State of Virginia, "regarding the service,

made me [Monroe] the same allowance in land and depreciation of pay as if I remained in the Line of the State."⁶⁹

Apparently the above efforts were, at least for the time being, not fruitful, for we find the Marquis de Lafayette, writing on behalf of the Harrison family from La Grange, his home in France, on October 28, 1821:

Dear Sir:

I was lately in town, when I had the Honour to Receive Your Much Esteemed Letter, and Hasten to forward my answer with the paper of which the enclosed is a duplicate. I hope it will arrive in time, and Beg you to accept my thanks for the opportunity you Have given me to express affectionate Remembrances. Happy indeed I would be to flatter myself that I Have, in some degree, contributed to the success of the wishes of a family, to whom I shall ever think myself Bound By the ties of High Regard and tender friendship, which united me to my dear Companion in Arms and patriotism, Colonel Harrison. I beg you to receive and present to the other members of the family my Sincere and affectionate regard.

Lafayette.

At the foot is a penned note:

I know that the above is in the handwriting of Major General La Fayette.

James Monroe.

Washington, January 4, 1822.

Of the exalted merit of Colonel Harrison, and his long and faithful services, I have already borne, from my own personal knowledge, ample testimony.

James Monroe.⁷⁰

Evidently the old associate, now the President of the United States, was still interested in the welfare of the family of the man of whose services he was able to speak so highly.

On January 14, 1822, David Easton (Sarah's husband) wrote James Madison that he desired positive evidence that Colonel Harrison who had retired from the service in 1781 because of ill health, had done so on a furlough. He said that the papers (Harrison's?) had been lost and that knowledge of the situation at the time of the Colonel's leaving the service would be of assistance to the daughters in establishing their claim to compensation.⁷¹

Again in 1825 the assistance of the old Marquis now in America, was called for. In a letter to Mr. Easton, Lafayette wrote:

Washington, 9 January 1825

Dear Sir

I am thankful to acknowledge your letter of yesterday, as it associates me to the very interesting concerns of Col. Harrison's daughters and gives me the

⁶⁹ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, X, 170.

⁷⁰ *New York Times*, August 26, 1923. ⁷¹ *Calendar of James Madison Papers*, 281.

opportunity to discharge a duty incumbent on the only survivor of General Washington's military family in the times to which you allude.

On my first joining headquarters early in 1777 I found Col. Robert Harrison acting as the intimate friend, the first aid de camp and Secretary of the Commander in Chief, whose confidence has proved most useful to General Washington, to the army, to the country and the cause. Admitted as I was myself to the family, not only while I lived at Head Quarters, but since I was entrusted with the command consistent with my rank as Major General I have had continual and peculiar opportunities to witness the great and daily services rendered by Col. Harrison; the trust General Washington reposed in him; the high esteem the tender attachment which Col. Harrison reciprocated, by the most affectionate devotion to his bosom friend, the Commander-in-Chief and by the incessant and very able exertions of his zeal in the military and political business of headquarters—as much was to be done by correspondence with Congress and influential men in the several States.

Under the circumstances and tho' I have not materially seen Col. Harrison's furlough—I have every reason to be convinced—that neither he would have asked, nor the Commander in Chief would have given, a final discharge from his attendance as a confidential friend aid de camp and Secretary—at Head Quarters. The same feelings which prevented Col. Harrison from accepting or wishing any promotion inconsistent with the duties and usefulness of that station, would in that instance have operated upon him: Nor have I ever at that time admitted the idea that Col. Harrison's absence on account of his health, incapacitated him from resuming his military situation, at head quarters, as soon as his recovery would have permitted it, if requested.

One observation I beg leave to add. It is founded not only on the sentiments of my respect for the character, gratitude for the services and brotherly affection for the person of Col. Harrison but positively on my knowledge of General Washington's feelings towards him—that is—that no private concern would (sic) have more warmly interested our paternal friend and Commander in Chief than whatever relates to the memory and family of Col. Harrison.

I think my dear Sir, I have briefly answered your queries, and request you to accept the expression of my sincere regard.

(Signed) Lafayette ⁷²

When it is considered that at this time Lafayette was 68 years old it is apparent how deep his feeling must have been, and how firmly he must have been imbued with regard for Harrison, to so ardently and anxiously aid his daughters in their struggle.

That the struggle must have been waged on many fronts and in several causes is shown by the fact that on March 2, 1827, the General Assembly of Maryland directed the payment "to Dorothy Storer, of the District of Columbia . . . during her life, in half yearly payments, the one-half pay of a captain, as a further remuneration for her late husband's services during the revolutionary war." ⁷³

⁷² Copy in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Original not located.

⁷³ *Laws, 1825-1826, Resolution No. 33.*

From the fact that on January 27, 1836, the General Assembly ordered the payment "to Sarah Easton, who was the widow of Capt. John Jordon, quarterly payments during her life a sum of money equal to the half pay of a Captain in consideration of the services rendered by her said husband during the revolutionary war,"⁷⁴ it appears that the Mr. Easton who had shown his interest in securing the rights of the Harrison daughters by writing to Monroe and Lafayette (and perhaps others) was the second husband of the elder daughter.

Although Harrison was in Washington's special service and not in command of, or association with, Virginia troops, he was nevertheless carried on the roll of officers of the Old Dominion State as a colonel of the Virginia Line.⁷⁵ It was because of this fact that the following letter, apparently in the nature of a petition or in corroboration of one already filed, was addressed to Governor Tazewell of Virginia:

That the undersigned respectfully call your attention to the fact that their father, Robert Harrison, entered the service in the Fall of the year 1775, as a Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, General Washington, and was by Congress on 5th of June appointed a Lieutenant Colonel in which capacity he continued to the close of the war;⁷⁶ that he survived but a few years after the Revolution.

It appears that the heirs had received a warrant for his services⁷⁷ "not exceeding six years," but as it was claimed that he had served more than six years, they sought additional bounty for 1500 or more acres. The petition was signed by Sarah Easton and Dorothy M. Storer. That the State was none too prompt to act is proved by the fact that not until May 16, 1838, were the heirs allowed land bounty for Harrison's service as a lieutenant-colonel of the Continental Line from October, 1775, to November, 1783.⁷⁸

Finally, after how many petitions or applications we do not know, Maryland likewise undertook to compensate the family. On March 11, 1840, the General Assembly authorized the payment to Sarah Easton and Dorothy Storer of a sum equal to three years' half pay as an aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief.⁷⁹

And so, to the best of our knowledge, the fight was over—and won.

Most of the Maryland men of prominence in the Revolution seem to have left behind, or the public has erected for them, some visible

⁷⁴ *Laws, 1835-1836, Resolution 26.*

⁷⁵ *Virginia Magazine, II, 243.*

⁷⁶ Louis A. Burgess, *Virginia Soldiers of 1776, 157.*

⁷⁷ Gaius M. Brumbaugh, *Revolutionary War Records, I, 100.* They had received a warrant for 600 acres on Feb. 3, 1817.

⁷⁸ Burgess, 157.

⁷⁹ *Laws, 1839-40, Resolution No. 28.*

reminder of their contribution to the Nation, but this is not so with Robert Hanson Harrison. No one is certain where he lived, or where he is buried, and the moldering hand of time has effaced all intimate knowledge of him.

There has been much speculation as to the place of his burial, but it seems probable that it is Walnut Landing, near his mother's grave on his father's estate, or in the churchyard of Durham Parish where his brother was rector. Some believe that it is the old Episcopal church cemetery of Port Tobacco. Long ago this burying ground was covered with silt as Port Tobacco Creek filled up so that no grave or stone is now visible.

How wrong was the chronicler of the *Maryland Gazette* when, in his laudation he said: "His conduct was uniformly such as will render his memory dear to every good citizen." Before many years had passed the memory of this sincere, able and willing young man of Maryland was as obscure as his grave. That he is today "a lost man" is no tribute to the State which has permitted 'Melancholy to mark him for her own.'

BOOKS OWNED BY MARYLANDERS, 1700-1776

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

In a survey of literary culture the most interesting and the most significant facts are those which reveal the proportion of the population which owned books and the types of books which were most popular. The best sources of information about the personal belongings of individuals living in colonial Maryland, including the books they owned, are the inventories of estates. These documents contain a record of inhabitants irrespective of their social position and should be one of the primary sources of social history. The Maryland inventory ledgers dating from 1674 and supplemented by the county inventory records are practically complete to the present day and afford a unique opportunity to study the personal property of Marylanders for over two hundred and fifty years.¹

The act of 1715, which was the basis for the administration of estates in Maryland during the later colonial period, required all executors and administrators to make an inventory within three months in the presence of two creditors of the deceased and his two closest relatives. The inventory was then submitted to a deputy in the county where it was recorded, and a copy was transmitted to the Commissary General at Annapolis who also recorded it.²

The following table has been compiled from the inventory records from the counties in both the Tide-Water and the Piedmont regions as recorded by the Commissary General at the Land Office. It shows the proportion of these inventories containing books and the approximate size of the collections. The figures presented in it are conservative estimates of book ownership because, while the appraisers might easily overlook stray volumes, they would not, especially while under oath and in the presence of heirs and creditors, list books which were not there. The form for the table was developed by Dr. Clifford K. Shipton in his study of the seventeenth-century records of Essex and Middlesex Counties which was incorporated in Samuel Eliot

¹ The ledgers kept by the deputy commissaries in the counties have in some cases been lost or destroyed by fire, but most of the material in them is recorded in the Inventory books at the Hall of Records in Annapolis. After the Revolution all of the records were kept at the county seats.

² See Elie Vallette, *Deputy Commissary's Guide Within the Province of Maryland*, Annapolis, 1774. The rules for drawing up an inventory will be found on pages 12-23.

Morison's *Puritan Pronaos*.⁸ It is supplemented by additional tables compiled from all the inventories recorded by the deputy commissaries in Baltimore County and Talbot County during the eighteenth century.

BOOKS OWNED BY MARYLANDERS 1720-1770

Year	Number of estates	Number Containing Books				Percentage		
		Bibles only	Less Than 10 or parcel	Ten to 20	Over 20	Having books	Only Bible	Less Than 10
1720	109	6	44	4	3	52	10	77
1730	164	8	62	5	3	47	10	79
1740	241	46	88	5	4	59	32	61
1750	248	23	105	4	4	55	16	77
1760	220	24	103	7	3	62	18	75
1770	235	25	115	6	6	64	16	75
1720-70	1217	132	517	31	23	58	18	73

BOOKS OWNED IN BALTIMORE COUNTY 1690-1776

Year	Number of estates	Number Containing Books				Percentage		
		Bibles only	Less Than 10 or parcel	Ten to 20	Over 20	Having books	Only Bible	Less Than 10
1690-1776	1313	230	600	25	24	67	18	68

BOOKS OWNED IN TALBOT COUNTY 1685-1776

Year	Number of estates	Number Containing Books				Percentage		
		Bibles only	Less Than 10 or parcel	Ten to 20	Over 20	Having books	Only Bible	Less Than 10
1685-1776	1283	98	565	25	17	54	14	81

These tables reveal the significant fact that nearly sixty percent of the inventories analyzed contained books and about one-fifth of this number contained only a Bible or a Common Prayer Book or both. Three-quarters of the inventories mentioning books contained less than ten titles or an indefinite number listed as a "parcel of books."

Those individuals who died intestate and whose estates were inventoried belonged to no one social class so that it would seem justifiable to conclude that if sixty percent of them owned books, approximately the same proportion of book ownership would proba-

⁸ For purposes of comparison the summaries of the Massachusetts county records are given here although it should be emphasized that they cover an earlier period.

Dates	Estates	Number with books	Percent	Number with Bibles only	Percent
ESSEX COUNTY					
1635-81	1001	390	39	75	19
MIDDLESEX COUNTY					
1654-99	516	311	60	24	8

bly be found among the remainder of the free white population of the colony.

Unfortunately, these tables do not show many interesting details such as the relation of the number of books owned to the monetary value of the estate. Frequently, the estates of wealthy men, valued at well over a thousand pounds, contain only a very small number of titles or sometimes none at all. On the other hand, there are examples of poor men whose personal property was valued at less than twenty or thirty pounds who owned several books. This characteristic of book collecting has probably existed in all ages and the only reason for discussing it here is to show that even in colonial Maryland poverty did not necessarily connote ignorance.

When Joseph Smith, an iron master living in Baltimore County, died, his total personal property was worth but four pounds and consisted of his clothes, a pen knife and two razors, an ink pot, the first volume of Rapin's *History* and two small books.⁴ To be sure, the Commissary General discovered that before her husband's death, Mrs. Smith had given some expensive clothes and his valuable gold watch to his niece, but the fact remains that this poor man possessed more books than some of the wealthy planters. Hugh McMullin of Talbot County was worth only six pounds when he died but he owned a "History of plants" in folio and *The Art of Surgery* by Daniel Turner.⁵ John Athey of Prince George's County was worth nineteen pounds and owned one Bible, one Prayer Book, two old books and a primer.⁶ John Green of the same county owned one old Bible, *The Whole Duty of Man*, a Common Prayer Book and "one weak Prayer Book," although his whole estate was worth only twenty-eight pounds.⁷ Mary Newell, of Annapolis, owned what the appraisers called "29 Very old books."⁸ One of the outstanding libraries owned by a poor man was that belonging to John Tollett of Dorchester County, whose total estate was valued at only nineteen pounds.⁹ His law library contained the following titles:

Cooks Reports	Herns Pleader
Kebles Reports 3 volumes	ye Compleat Clark
Bulstrodes in 3 parts	Swinburn on Wills & Testamts
Wingates Reasons of the Common	ye Orphans Legacy
Law	ye Instructors Clericalis

⁴ Inventories, 1770, liber 104, folio 141.

⁵ Inventories, 1730, liber 15, folio 122.

⁶ Inventories, 1740, liber 15, folio 611.

⁷ Inventories, 1740, liber 15, folio 520.

⁸ Inventories, 1740, liber 15, folios 463-4.

⁹ Inventories, 1730, liber 16, folio 115.

ye Compleat Sollicitor	Cooks Institutes in 3 parts
an Abridgmt of Plowdens Commentories	ye Instructors Clericales
the Law of Obligations	Nelsons Justice of ye Peace
Townsins Entry of Judgmts	ye Compleat Sollicitor & Attorney
Wingates Abridgments of the Statutes	Bound Body of Laws
Brownrose Pleadings	Book of Acts of Assembly
Tryals of per pais	Common Prayer Book
De jure Maritimo	Old Book Entituled ye Young Mans Companion
old old book intituled ye Compleat Attorney and 1 old book intituled Hoders Arithmetick	Old Pocket Book
Brownrose 1st & 2nd parts	Latin Grammar
	English Dictionary

The books in certain of the more representative libraries containing over twenty volumes have been divided into groups according to a rough classification. The subject divisions have been taken, with a few modifications, from the classification scheme devised by George K. Smart in his study of Virginia libraries.¹⁰ His first subject division contained philosophy and law, but in the following table these subjects have been separated. The next heading contains the classics, dictionaries and grammars. History, biography and travel have been treated as a unit. Religion has been analysed independently. The heading, science and practical arts, contains everything on these subjects except medicine which has been treated separately. English and foreign literature have been classified together. About five percent of the titles could not be identified either because of the illegible writing of the appraisers or because of their unfortunate habit of abbreviating.

This table shows that in these libraries religion was the most popular subject but that there was a slight decrease in the percentage of religious books toward the end of the colonial period. Law, history, biography and travel, and literature were found to be equally popular. The analysis of these libraries indicates that there was a growing interest in the humanities throughout the eighteenth century although the classics held a stationary position. Practical books on science, medicine and the arts were found in some libraries in comparatively large numbers while in others there were none. It should be emphasized that libraries containing over twenty volumes constitute only three percent of the total book collections in the colony.

Three-quarters of the colonial libraries contained less than twenty volumes and almost twenty percent more contained only the Bible or the Common Prayer Book. In these libraries, the proportion of

¹⁰ George K. Smart, "Private Libraries in Colonial Virginia," *American Literature*, X (1938), 24-52.

SUBJECT ANALYSIS OF TWENTY-FIVE LARGER PRIVATE LIBRARIES

Name	Total titles.	Philosophy.	Law.	Classics, Language.	History, Biography and Travel.	Religion.	Science, Arts.	Medicine.	Literature.	Doubtful.
Henry Coursey Talbot Co., 1703	43	0%	32%	6%	14%	18%	6%	16%	2%	2%
Col. Thomas Ennalls Dorchester Co., 1718	19	0	42	10	10	36	0	0	0	0
William Glanville Kent Co., 1719	31	0	6	6	9	54	3	6	0	12
Rev. Dr. Evan Evans Baltimore Co., 1721	16	0	6	6	30	50	0	0	0	6
Rev. Samuel Skippon Annapolis, 1724	28	0	3	40	14	28	0	0	3	10
William Smith Baltimore Co., 1733	81	0	28	11	11	39	9	0	0	2
James Maxwell Baltimore Co., 1734	30	0	13	13	3	26	0	33	0	10
Thomas Warren Baltimore Co., 1736	20	0	30	15	0	35	0	10	0	5
John Crockett Baltimore Co., 1736	59	6	10	11	2	30	6	10	11	3
John Moale Baltimore Co., 1742	37	5	2	16	5	45	5	8	16	2
George Robins Talbot County, 1744	34	6	6	8	6	38	8	8	14	3
Dr. Robert Holliday Baltimore Co., 1748	24	8	8	12	20	12	0	20	12	4
Robert Morris Talbot Co., 1750	183	5	5	5	24	15	10	4	26	3
Daniel Dulany Annapolis, 1754	107	5	6	10	23	26	8	5	8	5
Richard Chase Baltimore Co., 1758	186	3	53	12	8	7	3	1	9	2
Charles Christie Baltimore Co., 1759	52	0	5	0	8	7	3	1	50	3
John Bozman Baltimore Co., 1767	25	0	20	16	24	12	8	4	8	8
Jacob Hindman Talbot Co., 1767	25	0	4	44	12	24	4	0	14	0
Standley Robins Talbot Co., 1767	22	4	4	18	22	18	4	0	40	8
James Heath Baltimore Co., 1768	21	0	4	4	42	14	0	0	33	0
Dr. John Jackson Queen Anne's Co., 1768	59	1	1	8	35	15	1	1	32	1
Nicholas Goldsborough Talbot Co., 1769	35	0	22	14	14	20	5	8	22	5
Rev. Thomas Bacon Frederick Co., 1769	140	3	4	9	12	23	9	30	3	3
Christopher Carnan Baltimore Co., 1770	24	0	0	8	12	75	0	0	0	4
Ann Asquith Baltimore Co., 1771	20	0	0	10	0	30	0	5	45	10
Composite of larger libraries, 1700-1776	1321	2	15	10	15	23	6	7	13	4

religion was higher than in the larger libraries which have already been mentioned. When the collection contained less than four or five titles, they were almost certain to be religious books.

The Bible, which even today is considered "the best seller," was the most popular single title in the colonial libraries. Frequently a person having no other books would own several copies of the Bible in various states of repair. German and a few Dutch editions are found in the inventories of the western counties. French editions are mentioned in a few large estates, usually those of Roman Catholics. Latin and Greek editions are very seldom mentioned in the inventories, but Anglican clergymen had copies available in their parochial libraries.

The Common Prayer Book was also frequently listed and well-to-do Anglicans usually had more than one copy of it. Even more popular than this was the *Whole Duty of Man*, first published in 1657, and attributed to a number of seventeenth-century ministers.¹¹ The generally accepted opinion is that it was compiled by Bishop Fell, from a series of lectures and sermons left by Richard Allistree at his death. The book consists of semi-religious lectures on everyday life which could be read aloud to the whole family in the evening or on Sunday. In many ways it may be called the eighteenth-century substitute for à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. It was particularly useful in the southern colonies where the clergyman could not often visit his parishioners and they could not regularly attend services in the distant church. The introduction of a nineteenth-century reprint of the *Whole Duty of Man* contains the statement that "Few books have obtained a more general circulation, or have passed through more editions." From a study of the inventories of colonial Maryland, it is apparent that this book was more frequently owned and probably more often read than any other book except the Bible. The influence it had on the cultural development of the colony cannot, of course, be measured, but it is certain that many small farmers and planters looked to it as their primary source of religious ideas and practical advice; doubtless it was their sole contact with the printed word with the exception of the Bible. Dr. Bray sent at least four hundred copies of this book to Maryland for distribution among parishioners living at great distances from the churches, and William Parks published an edition of it at Williamsburg in 1746 which was probably used by Maryland readers.

¹¹ The full title is: "The whole duty of man, laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all, but especially the meanest reader. With private devotions for several occasions."

Another popular "guide to holiness" was Lewis Bayly's *Practise of Piety* which was published prior to 1613 and went through over forty editions by 1640. Although it had become "a byword of the old-fashioned religion of the much-lampooned London citizen" in many Restoration plays, it still retained a devoted following in the colonies.¹²

It was not as well thought of in eighteenth-century Maryland as the *Whole Duty of Man*, probably because readers had become unaccustomed to the style in which it was written and rebelled against its examples of God's wrath against sinners.

Throughout the colonial period there was a strong undercurrent of piety and morality in the colony which is reflected in the book collections. In 1763, a group of laymen in Queen Anne's County, organized the "Society for Reformation of Manners, and Punishing of Vice, Prophaness, and Immorality," and petitioned the County Court that:

. . . as there has been several Informations made by our Society and the Offenders brought to Justice, yet they have been so voyd of the fear of God and Man that they have most impiously & wickedly uttered many hard Speches, & threatening Words, agst. the prosecutors . . .¹³

Charles Etty sent his godson, who had recently moved to Maryland, a collection of religious books including *Law's Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, *Nelson's Devotions*, *Howe's Meditations*, *Butler's Analogy*, *Butler's Sermons* and *Mason on Self Knowledge*, "a most excellent book." With the books he sent a letter exhorting the young man to lead a Christian life:

. . . the Luxury, Dissipation & extravagance of the present Age, has a strong tendency to pervert the minds of young people and cast a Veil over the high Relations we Stand in to the Great Creator . . .¹⁴

Sermons of all kinds were found in the inventories. The weary appraisers frequently lumped them together under such vague headings as "parcel of owld Sermons" or "one small book of sermons." The works of Anglican and Non-Conformist divines seem to have been equally popular. Sermons were probably well read, judging from the physical condition in which they were found when listed for the inventory.

Those bold Quakers, who in the presence of Squire Finch, Presi-

¹² Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, p. 261.

¹³ Allen collection of letters of Maryland clergymen, I, 87. Maryland Diocesan Library.

¹⁴ Chas. Etty to Mr. James Brooks, Kensington, May 12, 1773. In Maynadier Letters at Maryland Historical Society.

dent of the Council, and Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of the Province, raised such a din and confusion that their arch enemy, George Keith, was forced to stop preaching, doubtless owned and read the devotional books published by their eminent leaders.¹⁵ William Mauduit of Prince Georges County, a plantation owner and proprietor of a general store, owned a fairly large library in which there were several Quaker items:

<i>Folio</i>	<i>Quarto</i>
Fox's Martyrs 2 volumes	A Bible
Henry on Pentateuch Bible & Testament	the Practical Navigator
Flavell's Works 2 volumes	The Justice of the Peace his office
The Laws of Maryland [probably Parks' Laws of 1727]	
<i>Octavo and Duodecimo</i>	
Boyers French Dictionary	Oldhams Works 2 volumes
Prideaux's Connection i. e. The Old and New Testament connected in the history of the Jews and neighboring nations, 1716 4 volumes	Hennetts hymns
Bailey's Dictionary	French Testament
Dielincourt on Death	Imarts Interest
Bohun's Corsus Cancellaria	Patricks Psalms
Gregorys Elements of Astronomy	England's Reformation
Manduits Sermons	Compendious Guide to the Dutch Tongue
Boyers French Grammar	2 Common Prayers
Watts Miscellanies	2 Gentlemans & 10 London Magazines
	14 Sermons ¹⁶

Another typical religious library belonging to a layman was that of Arthur Miller of Kent County whose inventory was taken in 1734.

a Bible Large Quarto	the Independent Whigg
the Whole Duty of Man	no Cross, no Crown by Mr. Penn
a Treatise on Sacrament [?] and Divine art of Prayer	Daltons Justice of the Peace
the Leadies Library and Religion of Gentiles	Nellsons Ditto
	the Duty and Authority Ditto
	a Parcell of old books ¹⁷

In 1775, the Catholic population was only about one-fifteenth of the total white population of the colony, and it is very difficult to identify libraries of Catholics in the inventory volumes. The priests had collections of religious books which could be used by their parish. Father Joseph Mosley, at St. Joseph's Parish, loaned spiritual

¹⁵ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Manuscripts A1, 272-4.

¹⁶ Inventories of Estates, liber 42, folio 218-219, c. 1750.

¹⁷ Inventories of Estates, liber 20, folio 536, 1734.

books, and the priest at Newtown Parish is said to have loaned copies of the Old and New Testament, sermons, *Spiritual Retreat*, *Life of Saint Ignatius*, *Great Duties of Life*, *Lives of the Saints*, *Hell Opened*, *Charity and Faith*, *Practical Reflections*, *Think Well on It* and an English translation of the Spanish book by Rodriguez entitled *Christian Perfection*.¹⁸

The next largest class of books were those on law. The libraries of colonial lawyers will be discussed in a later article, and for this reason a detailed analysis is not made here of their books. Although Maryland had what is generally considered the largest and best trained colonial Bar, conditions were such that even laymen were required to have a good legal knowledge if they wished to protect their own interests and to increase their property by trade and land speculation.¹⁹ The relations of the wealthy planters and land owners on the one hand and yeomen tenants on the other required complicated laws and led to numerous disputes. The economic machinery which had developed for the handling of the exports of tobacco, pig iron and wheat, and the import of manufactured goods from England, made it necessary for every successful planter and merchant to know the basic principles of maritime and contract law. Then there were innumerable minor disputes about road repairs, trespasses, fencing, and other questions which were incidental to the settling of a new country. Judging from the bitter invective with which controversies were carried on in the newspaper and in the broadsides, eighteenth-century tempers were unusually hot, and doubtless many law suits resulted.

Nearly every comparatively prosperous farmer or merchant was eligible for the office of Justice of the Peace, and he could usually secure the appointment if he had enough influence at Annapolis. The local justices settled many of the minor disputes without necessitating recourse to the courts and professional lawyers. The inventories frequently list handbooks for the Justices of the Peace. Planters sometimes even undertook to advise their local justice on the procedure he should follow in a particular case and quoted from a handbook to reinforce their point.²⁰

The number of books on the functions of this venerable English official increased as his powers were enlarged during the Tudor and Stuart period. A study has been made of the early handbooks for justices of the peace prior to 1600 which shows the many editions

¹⁸ H. S. Spalding, *Catholic Colonial Maryland*, Milwaukee, 1931. pp. 135-138.

¹⁹ Charles Warren, *History of the American Bar*, Boston, 1911. p. 51.

²⁰ This will be discussed more fully in a subsequent article, "The Reading Interests of Planters and Merchants in Colonial Maryland."

through which the four early treatises went.²¹ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were many more such handbooks made available for laymen interested in law. Fifty treatises for laymen and justices of the peace were printed in colonial America, and of course many more were imported from England.²²

Among the handbooks frequently listed in the Maryland inventories were Michael Dalton's *The country justice, conteyning the practise of the justices of the peace* (1618); Joseph Keble's *An Assistance to the justices of the peace, for the easier performance of their duty* (1689); William Nelson's *The office and authority of a justice of the peace* (1710) and Richard Burn's *The justice of the peace and parish officer, upon a plan entirely new, and comprehending all the law to the present time* (1775). Burn's handbook, which has been since expanded into many volumes, has been called the most useful book ever published on the law relating to the justice of the peace.

There were also treatises for clerks and professional copyists who drew up legal documents or filled out the blank forms printed by Jonas Green. The following titles were found in more than one library: *The Young Secretary's Guide*, *The Scrivener's Guide* in two volumes, *The Compleat Clerk* and *The Clerks Remembrance*.

There were several popular titles on the administration of estates, a problem which nearly every layman had to face sometime during his life. Included among them were *The Infants Lawyer*, Godolphin's *Orphan's Lawyer*, Curson's *Office of Executor*, *The Law of Executors* and Giles Jacob's *Everyman His Own Lawyer*. So great was the demand for reliable information on the legal aspects of inheritance that in 1774, Elie Vallette published in Annapolis his *Deputy Commissary's Guide*.²³

History was a popular subject with colonial readers and became increasingly so in the second half of the eighteenth century. Most of the libraries consisting of over five or six books contained historical titles. Even the Bray libraries listed a few.²⁴ Bishop Burnet's works were particularly in demand throughout the early period. His *History of the English Reformation* (1769), one of the earliest

²¹ B. H. Putnam, "Early treatises on the practice of the justices of peace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, Oxford, 1924.

²² Eldon N. James, "A list of legal treatises printed in the British Colonies and the American states before 1801," *Harvard Legal Essays*, Cambridge, 1934. pp. 159-211.

²³ I. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, No. 338.

²⁴ See J. T. Wheeler, "The Layman's Libraries and the Provincial Library" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 71-72.

English histories to use what approached the scientific method, was found in many inventories. Even more popular was his *History of His Own Time* (1724). Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (1702) was frequently mentioned. The most popular, and in fact almost the only, history of England in the first half of the eighteenth century was Rapin's *Histoire d'Angleterre* (1724), published in English translation soon after. The paucity of English historical literature led Voltaire to remark in 1724 that: "As for good historians, I know of none as yet; a Frenchman has had to write their history."²⁵ The histories of England written by London hackwriters and sold in sheets as they came from the presses were bought by Maryland readers. Smollett's *History of England*, 1757, hurriedly written in order to take the wind out of the sails of Hume's *History*, was found in several inventories and in one instance was listed as "a parcell of Smollett's history of England unbound," probably the condition in which it was received by the Maryland planter. Hume's *History*, the first of the great eighteenth-century histories which proved that history could be written as literature, outnumbers the earlier works on English history in inventories after 1760. Eighteen percent of the five hundred subscribers to Robert Bell's American edition of Robertson's *History of Charles V* were Marylanders, and Bell was so much encouraged that he planned to publish an edition of Hume.

Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV*, *History of Charles XII*, and his *General History of Europe*, all translated into English, were frequently found in inventories. It was very seldom that readers preferred the original French edition to the English translation of Voltaire's works.

There were many other popular historical works, frequently entered without author and sometimes with such abbreviated titles that their identification is practically impossible. Josephus's *Works* and Lawrence Echard's *Ecclesiastical History* were found in religious libraries. Some of the other titles are: *Roman History* in two volumes; *An Essay on ye Wars of ye Queen Mary*; Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*; Rollin's *History*; *History of King Charles Ist and IInd and King James*; Lediard's *Life of John, Duke of Marlborough* (1736); Humphrey Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet* (1697); *History of Moscovy, Russia, etc.*; *State of England under Queen Anne*; *History of the Twelve Caesars*; Cotton Mather's *Life of Governor Phipps*; Ross's *History of the World*; Daniel's *History of*

²⁵ Quoted from *Cambridge History of English Literature*, X, p. 279.

France; and a book called the *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* (inventoried in 1758).

Voyages and travels are found in a few collections, but it is disappointing not to find Hakluyt, Purchas and the other collections of early voyages as well as the expensive folios describing the famous eighteenth century explorations. William Smith, of Baltimore County, whose inventory was drawn up in 1733, had a copy of the *Voyages* of Sir John Narbrough, whose career came to an unhappy close while off Santo Domingo on the "treasure fishing" expedition started by the adventurous Sir William Phipps. He also owned Boyer's *Description of Flanders* and *Voyages in South America*. Richard Chase, whose law collection will be described in a subsequent article, had a copy of Sir John Chardin's *Travels in Persia and India* (1686) and *Voyages to Catogelinia* [?]. Admiral George Anson's *Voyages around the world* (1748) was found in several libraries and *Collection of Voyages to the South Sea* and Harris's *Voyages* were listed once. The voyages of Captain Cook in the South Seas, which are of fundamental interest to those Australians who are interested in the early history of their continent, are found in inventories at the end of the colonial period. There was such a great demand for them that in 1774, William Aikman, the Annapolis bookseller, sold an edition with his name on the title page.²⁶

Hume's *Essays*, the *Works* of John Locke, particularly his *Essay on Human Understanding* and *On Government* were fairly widely read, if the fact that they were listed in colonial libraries can be so interpreted. They were about the only titles of philosophy found with the exception of a few general works such as Kiel's *Introduction to Natural Philosophy*, Grotius and Puffendorf, *Law of Nature and Nations*.

In the Bray libraries there were a few volumes of the classics and the inventories contain many more. Although a survey of the printed inventories of libraries in colonial Virginia revealed the fact that Ovid was the most popular of the classic writers; in Maryland, Seneca was by all odds the most admired. His *Morals* was found in a great many collections, probably in most cases in Roger L'Estrange's translation. His *Tragedies* were not as well liked as the *Morals* but were frequently mentioned. Plutarch's *Lives* and his *Morals* probably come second in frequency of mention. The fact that the titles of the classics were often given in English in the inventories might

²⁶ See Joseph T. Wheeler, "Booksellers and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 124.

indicate that translations were more common than the originals even during that period of neo-classicism. Some of the other classical writings mentioned are: Homer's *Iliad* in the original and in Pope's translation; Ovid's *Epistles*, *Metamorphosis* and *Art of Love*; Cicero's *Orations*, *Offices* and *On Old Age*; Demosthenes' *Orations*; Virgil; Lucretius; Dunster's *Horace* and Francis's *Horace*; Cato's *Letters*; Longinus' *On the Sublime*.

English literature was also well represented. Most libraries of any size contained a copy of the *Spectator* with perhaps a novel or two and a book of poetry. One of the largest single collections of general literature was that of Charles Christie, sheriff of Baltimore County, who died on March 7, 1757.²⁷ His whole estate was valued at £858, and his library consisted of the following books:

popes Works 9 vols.	Gill Blas
Thompsons works 3 vols.	Beaumont & Fletchers works
Burnetts History of his own times 4 vols.	Oxford & Cambridge Miscellany
Humes History of Great Britain	Fieldings d ^o
Rabelais works	Nature displayed
world in Miniture	Drydens Plays
Apothegms of Ancients	Farquhars d ^o
Compleat Juryman	Ottways d ^o
demovive on Annuities	Congrav's d ^o
Salmons Modern Gazeteer	Cibbers d ^o
Alleins Synopsis Medicine	Shaffsburys Characteristicks
Everyman his Own Lawyer	Letters
Burns Justice of the peace	Ducks Poem
Miss Blandys Own Acct	Cooks d ^o
Elphinstones Mapp	Roderick Random
postlewaits Great Britains true system	Familiar Letters
Rambler	Fitzosburns d ^o
Universall Spectator	Spectators
Free Letters on the Navy	Ben Jonson Plays
Conferences w ^t the Indians	Practical Religion Revised
Conduct of the Ministry	History of Charles 12th of Sweden
Serious Defense	Mairs' Bookeeping
6 letters &c between B—r & Father	Guardian
Seldon	Holy Bible
Universall History ½ bound	Small Books
Swifts works	Magazines Bound
	Wars of the Jews by Josephus

It is difficult to make any sort of generalization as to whether seventeenth century literature was out of favor and had been entirely replaced by the Augustan authors. It is true, however, that there were not many sixteenth and seventeenth century writers represented.

²⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, March 24, 1757.

Among the early works mentioned in the inventories were Shakespeare's *Plays*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Plays*, Bacon's *Essays*, Quarles' *Emblems*, Butler's *Hudibras*, and Milton's *Poems*.

Addison, Steele, Pope and Swift were listed more than any other literary writers. Dryden was mentioned several times and John Gay's *Fables* were fairly well received. Mathew Prior's *Poems* was also listed.

The eighteenth century essay series were, judging from the inventories, very well liked. *The Turkish Spy*, a translation from Giovanni Marana's work with supplementary letters, probably added by Daniel Defoe, was often mentioned. Of course, the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, the *Guardian* and Johnson's *Rambler* were found in a great many libraries.

Copies of the most popular English novels were owned in Maryland. Fielding's *Tom Jones* was frequently mentioned and his *Works* and *Miscellany* were listed a few times. Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* and *Roderick Random* were well represented. Defoe's *History of Moll Flanders* was found among a number of sermons and religious books. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* in two volumes was listed in an inventory eight years after the publication of the first edition.

The library of James Heath, plantation owner and representative from Baltimore County in the House of Delegates, who died on November 27, 1766, contained a well-rounded collection of literature:²⁸

Burnetts History of his own times 2 v ^o folio	Debates in the house of Lords 8 vol 8 v ^o
Sidney on Government 2 v ^o fol	Roman History 2 vol Quarto
Johnstone's English Dictionary abridged 2 v ^o octo	Hervies Dialogues
Smollets History of England 8 vol 8 v ^o	Do Meditations 2 vol
Humes Essays 1 vol Quarto	Adventures of a Gumie 2 vol 8 v ^o
The world 6 v ^o	Tristram Shandy 2 vol 8 v ^o
Gill Blass 4 v ^o	Tatlers 2 vol 8 v ^o
Peregrine Pickle 4 vol 8 v ^o	History of Charles 12th King of Sweden 1 vol 8 v ^o
The Age of Lewis 14th 2 vol in 8 v ^o	Bible and Some other old Books
The Rambler 4 vol in 8 v ^o	Voltaires General History of Europe. Translated into English 3 vol 8 v ^o

Le Sage's picaresque romance, *Gil Blas*, seems to have been the most read foreign book excepting Voltaire's historical works, judging from the number of times it was mentioned. *Don Quixote* in a four volume edition was found several times. Rabelais, Montes-

²⁸ Baltimore County Inventories, liber B, folios 190-191.

quieu's *Reflections on the Roman Empire*, and Fenelon's *Télémaque* are among the other foreign titles.

Nearly every library of any size had a dictionary or a book on language. There were many so-called "English Exercises" from which the children probably received their first formal training in the language. Cole's and Bailey's *English Dictionaries* were more used than any others during the early part of the century. Johnson's *Dictionary*, usually in the octavo edition, was introduced later. There were many foreign dictionaries including Littleton's *Latin Dictionary*, Floru's *Latin and English*, Mansue's *Spanish Dictionary*, Boyer's *French Dictionary* and his *French Grammar*, and an unidentified *Compendious Guide to the Dutch Tongue*. Only one copy of Chambers' *Dictionary* (1728) was found and that was valued at £4: 10s. Daniel Robinson, the fortunate owner of this volume, could have rendered a real service to his neighbors by letting them use it.

The Gentlemen's Magazine, *The London Magazine*, *The Critical Review* and *The Universal Spectator* were all mentioned both in bound volumes and in loose parcels. Often the appraisers listed the periodical literature under such vague headings as "35 magazines" or "29 vols. Reviews."

Medical books were a necessity on the large plantations and in the isolated homes. The layman had to be prepared to take care of an emergency when the professional doctor was not available. Wealthy plantation owners probably found it a wise investment to purchase a few medical handbooks so that they might be able to treat the sick including slaves without calling upon the local doctor. The books found in the libraries of colonial doctors will be described in a later chapter. Among the medical handbooks for laymen frequently found in their inventories were: Dydam, *Treatise of Physick*; Quincy's *Dispensatory*; Salmon's *Dispensatory*; and Bate's *Dispensatory*, translated by Salmon. Marylanders probably owned copies of John Tennent's *Every Man his Own Doctor, or the Poor Planter's Physician* which was first published in Williamsburg in 1734 and was advertised in *The Maryland Gazette*.

Practical books on mathematics were found in some of the larger libraries. A great many of them were introductory treatises for educating children in the elements such as Ward, *Young Mathematician's Guide*; Euclid, *Elements*; Vernon, *Arithmetick*; and Moore, *Mathematicks*. Planters and merchants were interested in the mathematics involved in business. Imart, *Interest*; Norwood, *Trigonometry for Merchants*; Mair, *Bookkeeping*; Dafforne, *Accomptant*; and the *Compleat Compting House* were probably helpful in pre-

paring young men for the counting houses of the tobacco factors. Richard Chase and the Rev. Thomas Bacon owned copies of Newton's *Mathematical Principles*.

Books on navigation were sometimes mentioned. William Maudit, whose library was listed above, owned a copy of *The Practical Navigation* in quarto. *The Marriner's Compass rectified* and *The Marriner's New Callender* were both popular. There were a few books on astronomy including Gregory, *Elements of Astronomy* and Balley, *History of the Heavens* in four volumes. Among the gazetteers, or geographical grammars as they were called, were Echard's, Brise's, Bohun's, Gordon's and Morgan's.

The inventories of the colonial libraries contain very few American imprints. This should not be surprising when it is recalled that the product of the colonial press listed in Charles Evans' *American Bibliography* consisted in a large measure of government publications and ephemeral publications such as newspapers, broadsides and almanacs. Only a very small percentage of the product of the Annapolis Press appeared in book form and was incased in leather binding. The appraisers attached little or no value to unbound pamphlets and invariably grouped them together in parcels which may have contained almanacs, unbound sermons and even Ebenezer Cooke's *Maryland Muse* together with sermons and political pamphlets imported from London.

The private library of Daniel Dulany, the elder, at the Great House Plantation contained Edward Holdsworth's *Muscipula or the Mouse Trap a Poem Latin and English*. It is not known for certain whether this was the translation made by Richard Lewis and published by William Parks at Annapolis in 1728, or one of the several translations published in England during the eighteenth century.

The annual session laws, frequently bound together in one volume, and the compilations of the Maryland laws were found in the inventories of lawyers, doctors, clergymen and planters. William Parks's compilation of the laws published in 1727 was entered in the inventories as "the old Body of Laws" and after the middle of the century was found in various stages of disrepair. In 1766, the Rev. Thomas Bacon's monumental *Laws of Maryland at Large* was published by Jonas Green and is frequently found mentioned in the later inventories. The only other Maryland imprint specifically mentioned by title was the Rev. Thomas Craddock's *New Versions of the Psalms of David* which had been published in 1756. It is quite possible that some copies of this book listed in the Baltimore County inventories were of the English edition rather than of the earlier one printed by Jonas Green.

This analysis of a cross section of the libraries of colonial Marylanders based upon a study of the inventories of the estates has shown that nearly sixty percent of the free white population possessed books. Although three-quarters of the book collections contained less than ten books, often only a Bible and a few religious books, there were colonists who owned comparatively large and interesting libraries. The libraries of various social classes in the colony—planters, merchants, lawyers, clergymen and doctors—will be discussed more fully in the subsequent articles in this series.

ALEXANDER CONTEE HANSON, FEDERALIST PARTISAN

By JOSEPH HERMAN SCHAUINGER

He was not great, but at least was colorful, and at times even volcanic. He killed his man, a naval officer in the days of the Code. He was almost killed himself when, with a few companions, in a stronghold much less defensible than the Alamo, he attempted to fight a Baltimore mob. Elected to Congress as a Federalist during the War of 1812, it was a very obscure Republican who did not have at least one row with the fiery, swashbuckling, Alexander C. Hanson.

It is sometimes thought that the Federalists were confined to New England. Perhaps this may be ascribed to the works of Henry Adams, or perhaps to the power and virulence of the "Essex Junto." At any rate, it is an error, for there were many prominent men of the South who were Federalists. It might almost be said that most of the Federalists of the South were prominent, because the majority of the people there were Republicans. A few of the more outstanding Federalists in the South were John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, and James Breckinridge of Virginia, John Steele, William R. Davie, and William Gaston of North Carolina, Philip B. Key and A. C. Hanson of Maryland.

Hanson was born at Annapolis on February 27, 1786, the second son of Rebecca (Howard) Hanson and the Maryland jurist of Revolutionary fame, after whom he was named. In 1802 he was graduated from St. John's College, and began the practice of law soon afterwards in his native town. In 1808 he founded the *Federal Republican*, a newspaper that was soon to establish a reputation as the most violent of the anti-administration papers. With the founding of this paper Hanson moved upon the national scene.

His policy was simple; attack the administration in any and every way; show that the Jeffersonians had sold out to France and were supporting Napoleon; that the last hope of civilization, law, and order was old Mother England.

Josephine Fisher's research has proven that Hanson's paper was extensively used by the British Minister, Francis J. Jackson, to counteract the activity of the anti-British party in this country.¹ Hanson became very intimate with Jackson, carried on a voluminous

¹ Josephine Fisher, "Francis James Jackson and Newspaper Propaganda in the United States, 1809-1810," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX, 93-113.

correspondence with him concerning American affairs, asked him for English newspapers, and even solicited articles for use in the *Federal Republican*. On that cold, grey morning in early January of 1810 when Hanson set out to settle his affair of honor with Captain Gordon, Jackson was informed, so that he would know why his letters might not be answered at once.

As the war clouds moved nearer and assumed a more threatening aspect the *Federal Republican* rained abuse upon Madison and his crowd.

“. . . There is scarcely an act of tyranny and oppression complained of against George the Third which has not been committed by Jefferson and his political pimp . . . whiffing Jemmy,” was a characteristic shaft aimed by Hanson.²

Such quips aroused the ire of the most disreputable class in Baltimore. When war was declared against England in June of 1812 Hanson became, if possible, even more pro-British. This was more than Baltimore could stand. In July a howling crowd moved upon the offices of the paper. With the aid of a few friends and a hastily erected barricade the mob was resisted for a time. However, after an interlude, it moved upon the few Federalists with more success. The mayor had stood by, unwilling or unable to quell the disorder. It was finally agreed that the heroic defenders of the liberty of the press should be confined to the city jail for safekeeping. On the way to this doubtful sanctuary the mob surged in, with the result that most of the band were severely injured. General Henry Lee was killed, and Hanson badly hurt. After this affair the paper was removed to Georgetown.

Hanson was elected a Congressman to the Thirteenth Congress, which convened May 24, 1813. Here he was able to continue his fulminations. To his brother Federalists he was a victorious martyr. “Black Dan” Webster, who had just been elected to his first national post in this Congress, wrote that “Hanson is a great hero.” On another occasion Webster wrote that action upon a certain measure would be delayed until the arrival of Hanson. However, beyond quarreling and making ardent speeches Hanson could do nothing, for the legislature was in the very capable hands of Henry Clay and his fellow war-hawks. As a matter of fact, no one did anything in this Congress. The Federalists could do little more

² *Federal Republican*, July 4, 1811. Quoted in Bernard Mayo, *Henry Clay: Spokesman of the West*, p. 392. Mayo has many apt quotes from this paper.

than cry and bluster about the pro-French policy of the administration. Practically every Federalist speech was sounded on this note.

The fireworks began when the Republicans decided to exclude George Richards, the reporter for the *Federal Republican*, on the plea that there was no room for him.

Concerning this move Hanson said:

It is vain to expect to crush the spirit of opposition, to stifle opposition or investigation, change the nature of truth or shut out its light from people . . . for no matter what is done, still will the rays of truth pierce solid walls and shed its light on the land. . . . As yet there is no privileged order known to the written constitution. The press of this free country had no prefect set over it by law. . . .³

This dispute occasioned his first Congressional quarrel. One of his colleagues, Robert Wright of Maryland, had accused the *Federal Republican* of being in the pay of Great Britain. In the course of his speech Hanson turned toward Wright with the remark that he forgot what he owed to himself in noticing the aspersions of this gentleman, but that he had no hesitation in pronouncing the charges of foreign influence against the paper a base calumny. He concluded by observing that Wright knew where to seek a remedy for any remarks he did not like. To this Wright replied that he still believed that the paper was "corruptly published, and that he was prepared to seal this belief with his blood."⁴

Hanson then leaped to his feet and growled, "Now, Sir, once for all, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that nothing which can fall from that quarter (pointing to Wright), nothing which that member could think, utter, or do, can possibly disturb my breast. This is the first and last time I notice him."

However, his colleague had succeeded in disturbing him to the extent that he fell back exhausted into his seat. Hanson was never in good health after his escape from the Baltimore mob; his injuries had prematurely aged him. Compared to many of the other Federalists he did little talking in this Congress, for he could not stand it. His own statement bears this out. At the very beginning of the session he told the House that "being in such a state of extreme debility as to forbid any active, personal, or intellectual exertion" he would have little to say. After almost every speech of Hanson's appears the significant line—"Mr. H being completely exhausted." There is no doubt that he was a man of deep courage and character.

He could not still his fiery tongue when aroused by the more

³ *Annals of Congress*, 13 Cong. 1 sess., p. 113 (May 31, 1813).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

active of the war-hawks. Two weeks after his row with Wright he launched an attack on "that damn Felix Grundy" of Tennessee, the ugly, acid-tongued frontiersman, whose chief occupation seemed to consist in irritating sensitive Federalists. Grundy had just concluded a sweeping defense of the administration. Hanson, in his usual manner, rose to the occasion, with the wish "to deprive of lawyer-like dexterity . . . and characteristic skill and cunning for which he understood the member stood unrivaled and pre-eminent in the highly civilized and refined state which honored the House with his presence here. . . ." ⁵

When he branded his opponent as "the apologist of France" he was called to order by the Speaker. Later, he very pointedly remarked that Grundy could set an example in and out of the House which would require a very stout heart to follow.

As before observed, the Federalists were concerned mainly with the French peril. In some way the editor of the *Federal Republican* obtained a letter which was supposed to have been written by the French Minister to the Secretary of State before the existing war. It was declared to be of a most insulting nature; practically dictating the terms which the United States would have to meet before France would negotiate a treaty of commerce. The Federalists accused the administration of trying to conceal the existence of the letter. Hanson tried to force some sort of Congressional investigating committee to act on it. He even drew up a resolution to cause an investigation as to how he had obtained the letter. All this was of no avail. The Republicans were having enough trouble without bothering with this. In any event, it contained too much dynamite for them to explode. Every resolution concerning it was defeated. William Gaston of North Carolina had the contents of the letter read into the records, but this was all.

During the course of the debate on this question Hanson practically challenged Jonathan Roberts of Pennsylvania, whom he accused of introducing a bill containing an implication against his honor and veracity.

Even the gentlemanly South Carolinian, John C. Calhoun, had to bow to Hanson's anger. Of this gentleman the latter said,

. . . It was this same bold and false prophet who led us into Canada to conquer free trade and sailors' rights; and such is the sanguine nature of the late Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, that I have no doubt even now he would contract, if he could find security for the forfeiture, to

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

capture in six weeks, more or less, the whole British army and deliver them, bound hand and foot, at the Capitol. . . .⁶

Finally, not even the capital itself was proof against his sarcasm and temper. When the bill to remove the capital was being debated—after the British had marched through and fired some of the public buildings—Hanson moved that further consideration of the motion be indefinitely postponed, and in the concise words of the reporter:

Supported his motion by a speech the substance of which was, that though he entertained very great contempt for the citizens of Washington, which he expressed in the most pointed language, he was opposed to a removal at this moment, as being derogatory to the national dignity and honor.⁷

His enemies probably thought that he was never satisfied unless quarreling with someone. It must be admitted that he did not show himself to best advantage in debate. To his friends he revealed the better side; both must be taken into consideration to obtain a complete picture of the man. The *Federalist* from North Carolina, William Gaston, made many friends while in this Congress. Among these was numbered Hanson. The following letter to Gaston not only throws more light upon his character, but also contains interesting material on the time.

To Hon. William Gaston

Geotown May 19, 1814

My dear Sir:

After an absence of more than three weeks, I am once more seated in my big chair. But after the incessant rains that have fallen this month of May it was in vain to attempt bringing my family home with me. I have left them road bound in the neighborhood of the city of toleration and sound principles—you will understand at once I mean Baltimore.

My brother was quite mortified at not seeing you. Grosvenor and Lovett were still with him when I arrived, and they stayed another day. Poor Lovett; he has lost his office, through the treachery of the Clinton party who left us in a body on the day of election. It is just what I expected. Clinton's play was to throw the game into the hands of the democrats that Mr. King might be beaten, and thus he would have it believed there is no chance of his being the next President. What a corrupt, intriguing set they are in N. York. I have written to Grosvenor beseeching him to leave the State. He half promised me that he would when he left, but Hoffman, Gardener, & the rest of the clan I know will tease and laugh him out of it. I should take it I am not now in the best possible *odeur* with the Clinton party, and after what has passed upon the bank question, it is reasonable to conclude my standing is not much better with the King party—between two stools.

⁶ W. M. Meigs, *Life of John C. Calhoun*, I, 217.

⁷ *Annals*, 13 Cong., 3 sess., p. 322.

After all our sad vaticinations to the contrary you see 10 millions of the loan are taken, but upon the most ruinous terms. It is expressed in the certificates of stock that the new creditors shall be placed upon the footing with any future creditors. In this way—if the next loan goes off at 80, then the subscribers to the 10 million are to have \$8 paid back to them. Thus will all the holders of the new stock be interested in crying down the next loan, a premium being given to them to preach national distress, embarrass the financial operations of the government, and to compel the Secretary of the Treasury to sell at the worst possible terms. They have only to throw a quantity of the stock into the market, and make feigned sales to depress the stock, and then they demand to be reimbursed in the difference between the new and the last loan. This is very like killing the goose to get all the golden eggs at once. Campbell has succeeded, by attaching this privilege to the stock, in relieving the present wants of the treasury, but he has effectually destroyed all hope of disposing of the balance of the 25 million authorized to be borrowed. The very men who would otherwise be relied on to assist the treasury, even the speculators will find their interest in combining against the treasury.

If you were here, or within striking distance where I could get at you, I would hunt you out that I might give you a cordial grip of congratulation on the news from France. Castlereagh in Paris negotiating with the Senate of France after a grand battle before the gates of Paris and Bonaparte left with 45,000 men. Moreau was killed before the walls of Dresden and his aid Rappatelle fell before the barriers of Paris. It is curious. I knew the latter, but cannot say much of him. The former I never admired, because it was within his power to have prevented all the blood that has been shed from flowing, but he had neither the talent, spirit or ambition to prevent mischief or do great good. Perhaps it is because I hate all the French. Lord Nelson said "there is no other way to reason with a Frenchman but to knock him down." I should knock the whole nation down if it were with me and there wasn't any other way of preserving the balance of power in Europe. I got the news through little Payne,⁸ the American Roscius, whom you have heard me speak of, as having raised funds for him to go to England to improve himself in his profession. His three letters are very interesting and if franking season was not gone by I would enclose them for your amusement.

Come, here is a sort of beginning to our correspondence so you have no excuse for not writing to me.

Yrs. most truly
& sincerely,
Alex. C. Hanson

Several of Hanson's facts concerning the new loan were inaccurate, but his conclusions were correct. Madison obtained but a

⁸ John Howard Payne, actor, dramatist and author of "Home, Sweet Home." He had many friends in Baltimore, where he first appeared on the stage in 1809, among whom were William Gwynn, editor of the *Federal Gazette*, Jonathan Meredith, successful attorney, and Hanson. Through the efforts of these and other friends a fund of \$2000 was raised to enable Payne to display his talents as an actor in England. A young man of 22, he sailed in January, 1813, to be gone, as it happened, for twenty years.—*Editor*.

small part of the money needed, and general bankruptcy at length occurred. Campbell had to resign and the President was compelled to call a special session of Congress.⁹ As usual Hanson revealed in this letter his proclivity to deal harshly with his enemies. A month later he wrote again to Gaston. In this letter he set forth the usual Federalist position concerning our relations with England, but in his analysis of the French situation he was remarkably farsighted. He foresaw the return of Bonaparte.

To Hon. Will Gaston

Geo.-town
June 12, 1814

My Dr. Sir,

Your letter gave me infinite satisfaction. It was so long coming tho that I had thought you had ceased to bear in mind that there was such a being on earth as humble me. It is the nature of friendship and affection to be suspicious and jealous.

My sole occupation is riding, reading and writing. Of what is called pleasure, I take nothing, and never leave the house unless it is to take an airing in the gig. I am too weak to ride on horseback. An attack of the old complaint a fortnight ago has made me quite feeble. If you ever read the paper, you will acknowledge that in the scribbling way at least I have not been idle. The confecton of paragraphs is my evenings amuzements tho they are always crude and often badly put together. Tomorrow's county paper would have informed you of the receipt of your letter. A sentence being borrowed from it contained the acknowledgment.

You ask for my opinion of the effect of the Revolution in Europe upon American affairs. It will be collected from the suggestions given in the paper. I consider and treat as idle all apprehensions of the enemy's rising in his demands upon us. The truth is no demands have ever been made upon this govt. The British only require a recognition of their own rights. She simply claims the right to the service of her own subjects—to take them on a common jurisdiction, and to punish them according to their own law when found in arms against their own country within its acknowledged jurisdiction. Add the dispute about what constitutes a blockade according to public law and you comprize in a narrow compass the whole matter in controversy. Can there exist a doubt in the mind of any candid man who has attended to the course of measures pursued here and the pretensions set up by Mr. Madison that he has been from the beginning in the wrong. He must give up the question of the hostages, in place of the French definition of blockade, he must conform to that of the writers on the law of nations, and he must abandon the claim of employing and protecting British subjects. Until this is done, every call upon the minority to support the war must be disregarded if they are firm, consistent, and true to themselves and country. When the documents are published, should it appear that an honest and sincere effort was made at Gettsburg to renew the relations of amity and peace without effect, and that after yielding every point which we

⁹ See Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, VIII, 212-215, for details of the loan.

say ought to be yielded, the British urged new claims striking at the honor, rights or sovereignty of the nation, then I say, let the only contest among Americans be who shall go furthest in their maintenance and vindication. But I have no idea of prolonging the war for the *right* to trade with the British Islands, her East India possessions, or to take fish within her jurisdiction or to strike and dry them on her territory, for the simple reason because we have no such right. We must rely upon her good will to extend to us these privileges and advantages. If she no longer feels any good will for us, we must be content with securing our rights. The comparative strength and resources of the two countries make it altogether idle & fruitless to fight for an advantageous treaty, so we must be content with what will be considered an honourable one. Am I wrong? Tell me if you think so and assign the reasons for your differing in opinion. But I have no idea now of our being placed in any situation of difficulty as a party, in deciding how to act. We have gone over the ground so often, and every Federalist has his lesson so well by heart that I apprehend no blundering, or "getting out" as they say at school. We all know our duty, and I trust will be prompt and dauntless in discharging it. Still the necessity exists of making regular appeals to the people. The pen of every man who can write should be put in requisition. Now is the time to rise upon our adversaries. We should strike every moment while the furnace is in blast & the iron can be kept hot. As a party we stand upon the most elevated ground. Besides justice, honor and everything else that can recommend a cause, Providence seems to be on our side. But we must nevertheless put our shoulders to the wheel or Hercules will not help us. Suppose you and Stanley brush up the N. C. Fed. Rep. by taking advantage of circumstances & the times you may get the State with you.

I am in a prodigious great hurry but I must say a word or two about the affairs of France. Don't you think Louis will be insecure with all the late creatures of Bonaparte in office and about his person. No doubt numbers of these persons were tired of their master and desired a change, but the majority of them were attached to him. They were all compelled to bow to circumstances, but I have not a doubt that in less than a twelvemonth we shall hear of conspiracies against the Bourbons. If Bonaparte is not taken off by poison or the dagger, living at Elba upon his immense annuity, he will be visited there either openly or clandestinely, at any rate he will be corresponded with, and some desperate wretches may be induced by the expectation of great gain to massacre the whole Royal family. Let it then be announced that Bonaparte had landed and the terror of his name would prevent everything like resistance. This is the beginning very soon to augur evil, but really I can see nothing like safety for the Bourbons surrounded as they are by the murderers of Louis XVI & the late creatures of Bonaparte and he too alive. Had the dethronement of Bonaparte been a matter of choice with the Senate Legislative body, his Generals and armies it would have been totally different, but as it is he will carry the hearts of thousands into banishment with him. I hope I may be mistaken but am almost certain, without a great change in the officers, civil & military, there will be no repose for poor Louis. As Burke says there will continue a disposition to hope for much from the variety and inconstancy of villainy, rather than the tiresome uniformity of fixed principles, but he describes Louis XVIII as a man of general knowledge, of sharp and keen observation,

of gracious and princely manners. Monsieur Comte d'Artois he says is eloquent lively, engaging in the highest degree of a decided character, full of energy and activity in a word he presumes him a brave hon'ble & accomplished Cavalier. This gives me some hopes, but as long as Napoleon is alive there will be no counting on the permanency of the French Government. I should like to meet you in Richmond in October to spend a few days together. Let me know when you will come on.

My family all desire to be remembered to you . . .

Your friend.

A. C. Hanson

However, with the end of the war Hanson began to drift away from the Federalist party, and by 1815 was in sharp conflict with it. He felt that it had not supported his paper as vigorously as possible. Rufus King, the nominal leader of the Federalists, tried to placate him, but to no avail. In 1815 King wrote Hanson, among other things, that

Of your zeal, your disinterested views and correct principles I have the most entire conviction; of your devotedness to these principles no proofs are wanting; for the honor of our country they are already too strong. The injury done to your property has been great; and further sacrifices, should they be necessary, no one seems to have a right to call upon you to make. I know that you can never compromise your well settled opinions, and I am mistaken if, at this period of your life, you can much abate in your laudable zeal to explain them; still the interest of your own independence and the comfort of a beloved family ought not to be neglected.¹⁰

Later in the same year King wrote to Christopher Gore about Hanson, saying:

. . . I have recd. a letter from Hanson on the subject concerning which you had one or two conferences with him—He is very much mortified and dissatisfied—appears to entertain strong resentments agt. Mason, suspects Webster and Easton, conceives that he has been unfairly treated, that his standing and character are struck at, and that his own and family's ruin is aimed at. It is more than probable that his pecuniary affairs have been neglected; that while his expenses have been certain and great in circulating his paper, the income has been far short of what it shd have been, and would have been under the direction of a man, who understood the value of money, and who would bestow the proper care on the money department. Anyone who knows Hanson must know that he has feelings and sentiments which disqualify him for that sort of attention wh. is indispensable in collecting the annual subscriptions. . . . Hanson thinks his political friends in his own state have been shy of him. To a meeting of the leaders held some time since, preparatory to the fall election, Hanson alone of the Fed. members of Congress, was omitted in the invitation; this has increased his dissatisfaction. . . . In my answer to his letter, I took pains to soothe his feelings, but declined any agency respecting the disposal of his paper. . . .¹¹

¹⁰ King to Hanson, May 28 (1815), *Correspondence of Rufus King*, ed. by Chas. King, V, 480 n.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V, 479-482.

King did not succeed in soothing Hanson as the following letter to his good friend, Robert G. Harper, will attest.

September 22, 1815

My dear Sir,

When I first became enamoured of political pursuits, it was my delight to contrast the publick and private qualities in general composing the two parties. I considered federalism all that was pure, disinterested and exalted and democracy exactly the reverse. Experience has shown me that the shades of difference between the two parties are but slight, with some few distinguished exceptions among the prominent men on both sides. The complaints which the *stolen letter* has given rise to have disgusted me more than any recent event. The sentiments expressed in it, were those entertained and expressed by every man of the party, at the period of its date. We all rejoiced at the peace, and that it had been brought about by the relinquishment of those pretensions which the supporters of administration knew to be extravagant and untenable. To rejoice because these pretensions were abandoned was no more than rejoicing at the peace, because without their abandonment peace was unattainable. And may it not be asked, if the Democrats themselves did not rejoice in their abandonment when by illuminations and feasts they testified their frantic joy at the termination of the war? By the very terms of the treaty, our claims upon the subject of impressment, were in effect withdrawn and disavowed, and the administration declares the treaty to be honorable, which in other words is nothing less than an acknowledgement of their being always in the wrong on this great question. I have not therefore been able to perceive the "imprudence" of your "unfortunate letter." But notwithstanding, full one-half of the Federalists with whom I have conversed say, if the election is lost, it will be owing to the "unfortunate letter" which it would have been better to disavow—that is, it would have been better for the federal party to disclaim such sentiments, and to have left the writer in the lurch, in other words to have offered him up as a victim to popular clamour and delusion. Such is Baltimore federalism, and such the principle of many of that city, but governed by its influence. It would seem almost a vain hope for a party to get along when composed of such materials.

I proved now [*sic*] to the first object of my letter when I sat down to write. I am making arrangements to remove the *Federal Republican* back to the place of its activity [*nativity?*]. My motives for this step are strong as regards my own interest, and I am induced to think the public will be likewise benefitted. As relates to my own interest, there can be no doubt of its being materially promoted. I am now convinced that no federal journal can more than support itself at the seat of government. The patronage it has to subsist on is too remote, the District itself never affording enough to defray the expense of ink, candles, and paste. In a commercial city like Baltimore, whose population is now overflowing and continually increasing, a paper which could carry with it more than 3000 subscribers from other parts of the Union, would soon prove a handsome fortune. The city patronage would nearly pay the expenses leaving the remainder clear gain. Besides the *Federal Republican* would enjoy in Baltimore the same advantages it does at Georgetown—to wit, the correspondence of members

of Congress and the first publication of all the opposition speeches. There can be no question, whatever might be the coldness of its reception at first or the opposition made to it by the friends of the paper which has started up in Baltimore since its absence, it would soon find a circulation corresponding with my wishes. If I could afford to lose what I have invested in the paper, I would let it fall, rather than carry it back to Baltimore, for a few months of rural luxury and ease has taught me the value of retirement and tranquillity. But my duty to my family requires a continuance of those exertions which have so far enabled me to pass through life without experiencing the contempt and scorn which follow poverty.

I think the cause would also be benefitted. That mean servile temporizing spirit which has spread much since June 1812 ought to be written down, or brought into contempt, by example of firmness, consistency and intrepidity. Federalism in Baltimore is in a state of bondage and the *wishy-washy* paragraphs of the Telegraph however to be admired for the smoothness and beauty of their style are not calculated [to rouse] the party to an effort to break its chains. I wish your opinion upon this subject given in that spirit of candor and frankness which belongs to a friendship such as that which has long subsisted between us. Will you have the goodness to consult Mr. Oliver and such other gentlemen as you think entitled to be advised on this subject. Some that I had an opportunity to converse with, when I was in town a few days ago, were bold to say, the paper ought to have been formally invited back to Baltimore immediately upon the restoration of peace—that there was no other way of wiping off the stain that had been cast upon the party. I desire no such invitation; all I desire is, to be allowed to take back the paper without having its old friends among its new enemies. The sooner I hear from this subject the better. I am impatient to make the change.

The loss of Vermont in addition to the unfavorable result in North Carolina destroys Mr. King's hopes. I now see no other chance of putting down Monroe but to take up Clinton. I understand he can always secure his own state with the aid of the federal party, and that Vermont has always been at his disposal. I suppose he understands buying as well as Monroe, and will have the same fund at his command, with this exception, that his antagonist will be able, in part, to pay in advance.

Your friend sincerely,
A. C. Hanson.¹²

Mr. Harper

Hanson's feeble health did not permit much more activity. He left the House in 1816. The following year he was appointed to the Senate, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of his friend, Harper. He did very little here, for his poor health soon resulted in death, which occurred April 23, 1819.

It is hoped that these letters of Hanson will throw a little more light upon his erratic character.

¹² Galloway, Markoe, Maxcy Collection, Library of Congress.

DECATUR IN PORTRAITURE

By CHARLES LEE LEWIS

It is always interesting to study the portraits of distinguished men. In such portraiture, as in biography, the interpretations of different artists vary greatly. A difference in pose, dress, or age of the subject would naturally account for much of this variation. But there must be taken into consideration also the mental point of view of the artist whose own individual interpretation of the character of his subject will be reflected in the face and figure of the portrait. It is in this latter respect that one finds the basis for many significant contrasts and comparisons.

There are many portraits of Decatur for such a consideration of his appearance and character. Inasmuch as he became a national figure when comparatively young, it is not at all strange that this idol of the navy and the nation should have been so frequently painted by the leading artists of his day. A close scrutiny of these portraits will readily reveal those characteristics of Decatur which made him a beloved leader and a national hero.

What is probably the earliest portrait of Decatur is the miniature by the Italian artist Olivo Sezzi. There is a rather well established tradition that this was seen by Susan Wheeler in Decatur's cabin on the frigate *Congress* shortly after its arrival in November, 1805, at Norfolk from the Mediterranean after the close of the war with Tripoli. When she visited the ship with a party of friends in Decatur's absence, Miss Wheeler could hardly have imagined that in four months she was to become the wife of the dashing young captain portrayed in the miniature. This small portrait, 3" x 3½", always remained in the Decatur family until July 23, 1929, when William Decatur Parsons presented it to the United States Naval Academy. A reputed duplicate of it is owned by Mrs. Arthur Hefenger¹ of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. She inherited this miniature from Robert T. Spence, a midshipman in the United States Navy during the Tripolitan War, to whom Decatur presented this likeness of himself. Still another miniature, portraying Decatur as a young man, by an unknown artist, was presented by the Sultan of Turkey to Admiral Farragut on his visit to Constantinople during his European tour after the Civil War; it has recently been loaned to the U. S. Naval Academy Museum by Mrs. Morton L. Deyo.

¹ She spells the name of the painter of her miniature as Olivio Sezzi.

The next portrait of Decatur, in chronological order, is probably that by William Birch. According to a letter² of February 13, 1806, Decatur wrote from Norfolk to the artist in Philadelphia, "I will thank you to forward to this place one of your profiles of me as early as possible." It is somewhat puzzling as to what these "profiles" actually were. The earliest edition of Webster's *Dictionary* (1828) defines the word as "a portrait represented sidewise or in a side view." Whatever they were, none of the original profiles are now extant, but that they were paintings is indicated by the fact that an engraving by David Edwin, copyrighted April 1, 1813, bears the name of William Birch as painter. Below the portrait the engraver had added a drawing of the engagement between the *United States* and *Macedonian*, which had meanwhile been fought the previous October 25. A copy of this engraving is in the United States Naval Academy Museum. Thomas Birch, son of William Birch, painted an excellent picture, now in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, of the battle between the *United States* and the *Macedonian*, and in an engraving of it by S. Seymour the engraver has placed below the battle scene a medallion of Decatur which was evidently copied either from William Birch's portrait or the engraving of it by Edwin.

The portrait which has been placed third in order of time may possibly have been earlier than that by Birch, though it cannot now be dated exactly. The artist, Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Mémin came to New York not long after 1793. One of his specialties was the engraving of portraits by what he called the "physionotrace" method. First he made a crayon drawing of his subject from life, which was then reduced by his machine within a circle about two inches in diameter. This he engraved or etched on a small copper plate. For twelve impressions and the original crayon plus the plate he charged \$33. His work must have been very popular, as he is credited with over 800 portraits, most of the well known people of the United States in the early years of the nineteenth century being included.

Many of these portraits have been reproduced in the Dexter catalogue of Saint-Mémin's *Collection of Portraits*. Plate number 650 of the Dexter catalogue is incorrectly stated to be that of Decatur. A notation in the copy of this catalogue in the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, signed by Charles Harper Walsh of the staff of the Library of Congress, states that this plate portrays "John Green, Purser, U. S. Navy, born in 1782 in Somerset County, Maryland, and died in 1850 in Washington. Statement given on the authority of his

² In Pennsylvania Historical Society.

daughter Mrs. Maria Green Devereux of Cleveland Park (August 18, 1900) who owns the original copper plate." The authentic Saint-Mémin portrait of Decatur has always been in the Decatur family and is now owned by Mrs. Augusta Shippen Morris³ of Philadelphia. It has not been reproduced in the Dexter catalogue, which as has already been stated does not include all of Saint-Mémin's works. Max Rosenthal made an etching of it, which was copyrighted by the Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Association of Philadelphia in 1903, and Guy Carleton Lee reproduced the portrait in his *History of North America*, Vol. 12 (Philadelphia, 1925). This portrait is unique in that it is the only one which portrays Decatur in civilian clothes. The anchor design is thought to have been added later as a doubtful improvement by the hand of some restorer.

Another portrait painter who portrayed Decatur probably before the War of 1812 was Rembrandt Peale, son of Charles Willson Peale who was a more distinguished artist than any of his talented children. There are two portraits of Decatur by Peale. They are not duplicates, the uniforms being quite different though the pose of the head and the expression of the face are quite similar. One of these, which was purchased from the Peale Gallery sale in Philadelphia in 1854,⁴ is in the New York Historical Society; while the other belongs to the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore.

It was not until after Decatur captured the British frigate *Macedonian* in the War of 1812 that the most noteworthy portraits of him were painted. As early as December 17, 1812, following this victory, the New York municipal authorities voted him the freedom of the city in a gold box and requested that his portrait be painted for the City Hall. It was in due time painted by Thomas Sully for the sum of \$500, and now hangs in the Controller's Office. The portrait was begun by Sully on July 12, 1814 and finished the following September.⁵ Being a large painting, 66" x 94", it shows in profile the complete figure of Decatur in dress uniform with the left foot slightly advanced and the right hand resting lightly on the hilt of his sword. He stands beside the base of a column. In the background are Castle William and New York Bay.

Before undertaking this large portrait, Sully painted a much smaller one, 30" x 38", in exactly the same pose and setting. Whether this was merely a preliminary study or whether the artist was dis-

³ Mrs. Morris owns also the Saint-Mémin portraits of Decatur's father and mother.

⁴ Letter of June 17, 1930, from Alexander J. Wall, Librarian of New York Historical Society.

⁵ *Life and Works of Thomas Sully* by Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding. Philadelphia, 1921.

pleased with his first attempt is not definitely known, though it is quite evident that the larger portrait is a great improvement, the head and in fact the whole figure being decidedly more graceful and pleasing in appearance. The smaller painting is now owned by Mrs. Edwin Tatham of New York City. Several different engravings of the City Hall portrait have been made, and they have often been reproduced as illustrations. Among them is the three-quarter, 4.12" x 3.11", line engraving by A. B. Durand "from a copy by James Herring, copyright, 1835,"⁶ first reproduced in the *National Portrait Gallery* by James B. Longacre and Joseph Herring, Volume 3. This is an engraving of the upper part of the portrait, just including the hilt of the sword. An engraving of only the bust was made by J. F. E. Prud'homme and reproduced first as a frontispiece for Mackenzie's *Life of Stephen Decatur*. This stipple vignette, 2.1" x 2.4", was made by special permission after the portrait in the New York City Hall. In John Frost's *American Naval Biography* is reproduced a portrait of Decatur by Pinkerton, as engraved by W. Cromme, which is nothing more than the upper portion of the Sully portrait, reversed as by a mirror, with a ship added to the background. In *Harper's Weekly* (Vol. 37, p. 358) there is a pen and ink sketch by A. B. Doggett, which is a full length copy of the Sully portrait.

At the United States Naval Academy is a bust profile portrait of Decatur in sepia, monotone, 20" x 24", also by Sully. It was begun by the artist on April 25, 1816, and finished only three days later.⁷ It portrays Decatur in a uniform with a very high coat collar. It is said to have been painted as a model for Decatur's bust on the medal awarded him by Congress for the capture of the *Macedonian*. This medal was designed by Moritz Fürst. He was the designer also of a smaller medal, bearing the date 1813, which has a somewhat different likeness of Decatur on one side and the bust of James Lawrence on the other. Copies of the smaller medal, apparently made of lead, are in the U. S. Naval Academy Museum and in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Sully painted still another bust portrait of Decatur, in oil on a wooden panel, 7" x 9", which presents Decatur in a pose remarkably like that of Stuart's portrait of him. It was presented to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1861 by Samuel Breck, and may be the painting listed by Biddle and Fielding as the one painted for Stephen Price, which was begun on August 20, 1814, and finished the follow-

⁶ *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* by David M. Stauffer. New York, 1907. The excellent copy by Herring is now owned by Mr. Rogers Caldwell of Nashville, Tennessee.

⁷ *Life and Works of Thomas Sully* by Biddle and Fielding.

ing September, while he was engaged on the New York City Hall portrait.

A portrait of Decatur by Charles Bird King, which shows the influence of Sully, hangs in the Redwood Library of Newport, Rhode Island. King, a native of that city, had a studio in Philadelphia in 1812 and then moved to Washington in 1816. He painted other naval officers, among them being John Rodgers who was one of Decatur's most intimate friends.

Another very distinguished artist who painted Decatur even earlier than Sully did was Gilbert Stuart. He made at least two different portraits of Decatur, which are almost duplicates. According to Lawrence Park,⁸ the artist portrayed Decatur's eyes as well as his sidewhiskers and hair as dark brown. This is interesting, as authorities have been in disagreement as to the color of these features. After the Commodore's death Mrs. Decatur gave the portrait of her husband by Stuart, which she particularly prized, to Colonel John Pine Decatur, Stephen's younger brother. He bequeathed it to his daughter Anna Pine Decatur, who became the wife of William H. Parsons. Their son William Decatur Parsons inherited the portrait, which, after his death in 1930, went by special bequest to the National Gallery of Art in Washington. This undoubtedly is an authentic Stuart painted from life. Two stipple engravings have been made from this portrait, one by David Edwin which first appeared in the *Analectic Magazine* of June, 1813 and another by Thomas Gimbrede which, first reproduced in the *Biography of Naval Heroes* published by John Low, has puzzled some who did not recognize that it was a mirrored reversal of the portrait.

The other portrait of Decatur which Lawrence Park states to have been painted by Stuart was presented by Mrs. Decatur after her husband's death to John Randolph of Roanoke as an evidence of "affection and appreciation"⁹ for his assistance in the attempt to secure for her from Congress her husband's part of the unpaid prize money for the destruction of the *Philadelphia*. Randolph had been, moreover, one of Decatur's most intimate friends. At the death of the eccentric Virginian in 1833, the portrait went by bequest to his namesake John Randolph Bryan, from whom it was inherited by the present owner, Dr. Robert C. Bryan of Richmond, Virginia. This portrait, as does the one now in the National Gallery, portrays Decatur's bust, three-quarter left, with his brown eyes directed to the spectator. "His curly hair," continues Park,¹⁰ "is brown as are his

⁸ *Life of Gilbert Stuart*. New York, 1926.

⁹ Letter of June 27, 1936, from Dr. Robert C. Bryan.

¹⁰ *Life of Gilbert Stuart* by Lawrence Park.

sidewhiskers. He wears a white standing collar, a high-collared black coat with brass buttons, a black stock and white lace frill projecting from his coat and a white waistcoat shows at the bottom of the picture. The background is warm with flame-colored smoke at the left."

The Harry Stone Bookshop of New York City owns a portrait of Decatur which is claimed to have been painted by Stuart. It is said to have been given by Decatur to Dr. Bullus and to have remained in that family until recent years. It is now on loan in the Museum of the U. S. Naval Academy. There are several copies of Stuart's Decatur. One of these is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and belongs to the Charles Allen Munn Collection, which was bequeathed to the Museum in 1924. It is thought to have been painted by Trumbull, "some of the earmarks of whose style, such as the use of black in the flesh painting, are here noticeable."¹¹ The portrait was owned by Commodore John Rodgers, Commodore M. C. Perry, and Mrs. Henry Fairfield Osborn (Loulu Perry) before passing into the ownership of Charles Allen Munn.¹² A copy by an unknown artist, which was reproduced in Mahan's *War of 1812*, is in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Georgetown University in Washington owns a copy by Simpson who made a questionable improvement by attaching to Decatur's uniform the insignia of the Order of the Cincinnati. Still another, which was painted for Stephen Decatur, nephew of the Commodore, and was exhibited in 1863 at the Boston Athenaeum, now belongs to the heirs of Stephen Decatur of Kittery Point, Maine; while the family of Mrs. Roland Morris¹³ of Philadelphia owns two copies by unknown artists.

A handsome vigorous portrait of Decatur is the one by John Wesley Jarvis, great nephew of the great religious leader, which hangs in Memorial Hall at the U. S. Naval Academy. It was presented by Stephen Price, Esquire, on November 5, 1839, to the Naval Lyceum, Brooklyn, New York, whence it passed later with many other gifts from that institution to the Naval Academy. Two engravings of it have been made, one by Henry Meyer, whose original copper plate is in the Naval Academy Museum and another by J. W. Cook which was published in London by R. Bentley in 1839. A copy of the latter is in the Naval History Society in New York. A small stipple rectangular engraving, 2.14" x 2.4", which includes a frame with a ring similar to those often attached to miniatures, was made

¹¹ *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* for January, 1925.

¹² Letter of June 12, 1936, from the Assistant Curator of the Metropolitan Museum.

¹³ Mrs. Morris' daughter, Mrs. Machold, owns the original portrait by Stuart of Susan Decatur, wife of the Commodore.

by Pekenino and printed by J. Lingg. It is not known whether Jarvis painted a miniature of Decatur, and this little engraving may have been made from the full size portrait or from one of the engravings of it, though the engraving of the frame and ring as a part of it is rather puzzling. An interesting portrait preserved only in the engraving of it by Goodman and Piggot, published in 1820 in Philadelphia, bears the title, "Painted by Mrs. Plantou a few days before his [Decatur's] death." But its close resemblance to the Meyer engraving after Jarvis indicates that it almost certainly was not painted from life.

There are four other portraits of Decatur, now known only from engravings of them. One ascribed to G. Strickland as painter and J. O. Lewis as engraver has been reproduced as a frontispiece in Mantle Fielding's *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*. This stipple engraving, 11.6" x 8.4", portrays Decatur in dress uniform, hat in hand, standing on the deck of a ship and leaning on his sword. It is undoubtedly a contemporary print and an exceedingly interesting one. According to Stauffer,¹⁴ an aquatint rectangular, 5.14" x 7.8", engraving of Decatur was designed and aquatinted by William Strickland and published by John Kneass of Philadelphia. It is a bust engraving in profile of Decatur in uniform; below are olive branches and a ribbon with the words: "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Another contemporary portrait was ascribed to L. White as painter on an engraving by M. Osborn, who is said to have been in Baltimore in 1812 and in Philadelphia in 1820. John R. Spears in *Our Navy* (Vol. I, p. 347) has confused the Gimbrede engraving after Gilbert Stuart with the one by Osborn. The last of the four is the widely known engraving by G. R. Hall of the portrait by Alonzo Chappel. This portrait, now owned by the Chicago Historical Society, was not painted until many years after Decatur's death, and shows the influence chiefly of Sully. The original painting by Chappel of Decatur's hand to hand fight with the Tripolitan captain is owned by Chester Dale of New York.

Three unsigned engravings of portraits of Decatur will be briefly considered. One of these has the distinction of being the only likeness of Decatur to be published in England. It was issued in London in 1815 by Whittle and Laurie. A copy is in the Naval History Society in New York. The artist seems to have depended largely on his imagination, though the engraving bears a slight resemblance to authentic portraits of Decatur. It is a bust engraving, in which the length of Decatur's nose and the curliness of his hair are exaggerated.

¹⁴ *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* by David M. Stauffer.

Another, described by Mantle Fielding as a stipple rectangular, 11.12" x 15.9", engraving, displays an urn with a medallion portrait of Decatur, which is the center of various moral and military symbolic emblems, below which is this inscription: "Sacred to the Memory of Com. Stephen Decatur, Late of the U. S. Navy. To the Citizens of the United States this Print is most respectfully inscribed by their humble Servant, Joseph How." A third engraving of a bust portrait, slightly resembling Decatur, is one copyrighted in 1875 by Virtue and Yorston.

In conclusion, a few miscellaneous items will probably be of interest. Charles Wellington Furlong owns a crude portrait of Decatur painted by one of the Commodore's sailors on wood taken from the *Macedonian*. It portrays Decatur holding a sword and wearing a cocked hat and epaulettes; underneath are painted the words: "The Commodore Decatur." Arthur Sussel, dealer in antiques in Philadelphia, has a small Staffordshire jug, height 4½", which has the portrait bust of Decatur, copied from the Stuart painting, surrounded by flags and cannon, on one side; while on the other is a portrait of Captain Lawrence. The only sculptor who has portrayed Decatur is George T. Brewster, still living, who, prepared a very pleasing small statue of Decatur as one of the naval figures in the Dewey Arch which was temporarily erected in Madison Square, New York, in honor of Admiral Dewey's return after the close of the Spanish-American War. A rather extraordinary anchor medallion made of iron is in the U. S. Naval Academy Museum. According to Howland Wood,¹⁵ Curator of the American Numismatic Society, to whom a photograph of the strange item was sent for identification, "The portrait is not of Decatur but of Napoleon. I am enclosing a rubbing of the Napoleonic medal from which this was made. Ours is a brass shell, made to insert in a box, cabinet, or small piece of furniture, which was a common practise in those days. If you notice your medal carefully, you will see the name of Buonaparte has been removed from the truncation of the shoulder and Commodore Decatur has evidently been added to the medal, presumably by soldering the letters on. This you can easily tell. There is no doubt that this anchor piece is contemporary as the Napoleonic medal was made between 1800 and 1803." What it was used for is by no means clear. Could it have been attached with other similar ones to the coffin or pall or been connected in some other way with Decatur's funeral? This would explain, at least, the evident haste in its preparation.

Now after looking at the various portraits of Decatur, what com-

¹⁵ In a letter of February 19, 1937, to the Curator, U. S. Naval Academy Museum.

posite picture does one form of his appearance? There would be general agreement perhaps that he was a man slightly above the average in height, with a slender and graceful figure and broad shoulders. The features of his head were striking; the ears, eyes, slightly aquiline nose, and mouth were all large but well proportioned. There was intelligence, alertness, sensitiveness, fearlessness, and reserve power written all over his face. A slight suggestion of the dandy appeared in his dress and in the manner in which his hair was worn; in other words, one sees a man who took pride in his personal appearance. As one looks more intently at his face and figure one begins to sense the magnetism of his compelling personality and the charm of his character, which made men gladly follow his lead and obey his commands, whatever danger threatened, and which also made him a favorite in society as the Bayard of the Navy without fear and without reproach.

United States Naval Academy.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN IMPRINTS IN THE SOCIETY'S DIELMAN COLLECTION OF MUSIC

By WILLIAM TREAT UPTON

In gathering material for a new and enlarged edition of Oscar G. Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music* (originally published in 1905) my journeyings throughout the United States brought me a few months ago to Baltimore—to the Maryland Historical Society's collection of early American musical imprints. As the field covered in Sonneck's *Bibliography* is strictly limited to the eighteenth century, I was overjoyed to find in the large collection gathered together by Louis H. Dielman (and bearing his name), together with the small but choice collection presented by Caroline R. Hollyday, a rich assortment of the very issues I was looking for. I suppose I should have expected something of the sort if I had taken more largely into account the fact that the Carr family of Philadelphia and Baltimore¹ issued probably more material of just this sort and at just this time than any other music publishing firm in America. No wonder then that I had found in the Edward I. Keffer Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia (with its valuable material handed down from the venerable Musical Fund Society of that city) and now no less in the Louis H. Dielman Collection at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, a finely representative group of these eighteenth century imprints.

Naturally enthusiastic over such a find, I accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Maryland Historical Society to write for this magazine something about these eighteenth century American issues of secular music as found in the Dielman collection. This I was particularly glad to do, as it makes possible an expression of my own personal appreciation of Mr. Dielman's great service in forming such a collection. Would that every historical society were as well and generously served!

As I have said, it is natural that the eighteenth century portion of this collection should be predominantly given over to Carr publi-

¹ Benjamin Carr, a young English musician of twenty-four, came to America early in 1793, to be followed in a few months by his father, Joseph Carr, and a brother, Thomas. Benjamin made his permanent home in Philadelphia, while his father (and later, his brother) maintained a music store and publishing house in Baltimore. All three became well known publishers: Benjamin, in Philadelphia until about 1800, when he left the publishing field for an active career as composer and performer; Joseph, in Baltimore for a quarter of a century, then Thomas, until about 1850.

The Carr family will always be remembered with deep respect for their pioneering efforts in the development of music in America.

cations, although other contemporary music publishers are represented—thus together presenting an excellent cross section of musical tastes and interests in America in the 1790's, that decade in which music publishing in the United States, on a reasonably large scale and representing varied types, really began.

Happily we have no need to be ashamed of the musical taste of our forebears as here disclosed. These songs were the same as those sung by our cousins in London; and these same pieces for harpsichord or piano were as diligently strummed there as here: Sonatas by Pleyel, the *Andante* from Haydn's *Surprise Symphony*, arranged for piano (or harpsichord), pieces by Boccherini and Thomas Haigh (the latter less known to us than the others) and Michael Kelly's popular *March* from *Blue Beard*. Probably less known in England than here were such numbers as this arrangement of *Lord Alexander Gordon's Reel* by George C. Schetky of Philadelphia; the *President's March*, now recognized to have been composed by Philip Phile of the same city; an anonymous set of variations on *Yankee Doodle*; and *Linley's Assistant for the Pianoforte*. Of these last three titles I shall have more to say later.

Few in number as compared with the far more numerous songs, the quality of these instrumental pieces is none the less excellent throughout. There is nothing cheap or commonplace about them. But their comparative rarity in America during the eighteenth century is still further emphasized by the fact that over half of those mentioned above were issued in Carr's *Musical Journal for the Pianoforte* (Baltimore) during the one year, 1800, and thus barely enter our field.

When we come to the songs, however, we find an entirely different story—not at all in regard to their quality (here again we echo London) but rather in their far greater number. And it is through study of this particular group that we are able to draw a fairly accurate picture of the musical culture of the America of that day.

It is not my purpose in this paper to go into technical bibliographical details. But it is clear that if we note all the various contemporary imprints of any particular composition, and then ascertain how many copies (in all its various forms) have survived, we shall thus be able to form a very fair estimate of its contemporary popularity as compared with other similar publications; noting particularly whether the different imprints themselves were more or less scattered, and whether the surviving copies have also been found in fairly widely separated regions. Of course all sorts of puzzles may result from this statistical research. For instance: which is more important

for our purpose—to find eight copies of one issue in scattered sections of the country, or two copies each of four different imprints of the same composition, equally or even less widely scattered? It is rather a nice question!

But all these problems aside (which so beset the conscientious student of a culture that is past) I still feel that it is possible for us to fashion a picture of the musical taste and culture of those days which shall prove essentially authentic.

In broad outline, as visualized through this collection, our picture deals primarily with songs—especially the songs of those stalwart English composers, Hook, Arnold, Shield, Storace and Spofforth in the order named, dropping sharply from the thirteen songs by Hook to the five by Arnold, four by Shield, three each by Storace and Spofforth; with scattered individual songs by Attwood, Dibdin, Mrs. Jordan, Mazzinghi (or Reeve), Naegeli, Piercy, Relfe and Sanderson. There are four songs by the popular Irish composer, Michael Kelly, two by the Italian Paisiello, one by Giordani, and one by Mozart.

It is pleasant to find America itself also well represented. And it is eminently appropriate that John B. Gauline, "Native of Marseilles and long a respectable citizen of Baltimore" should lead his adopted country (and indeed all the rest) with fourteen songs. Benjamin Carr follows with four, Raynor Taylor, three, James Hewitt, Alexander Reinagle and W. Langdon, one each. All in all a distinguished group. For Carr, Reinagle, Hewitt and Taylor represented the best of American creative musical ability at this time. And Gauline, while apparently known only hereabouts, shows in these fourteen songs that he can hold his own with his more distinguished colleagues. Langdon is quite unknown.

Our picture embraces also some fourteen songs of unknown authorship. This situation was far from uncommon in the America of those days—no less so in London itself. Much of the music of the eighteenth century (both in America and England) is still shrouded in anonymity.

It is absolutely authentic and true to our picture, that we find James Hook (with the sole exception of the Baltimorean Gauline) leading all his competitors in the number and distribution of his songs. This was as true of the country at large (England, too) as it was of Baltimore. Our perspective at this point is correctly drawn. Barring only *The Cheering Rosary* by William Shield, with its three different American imprints, copies of which I have found in twelve different locations, and Carr's *The Little Sailorboy*, with four different imprints and fifteen different locations (both of these being exceptional

cases) we find Hook's songs holding the highest average in both respects. His well known *Rise, Cynthia, Rise* with four imprints and fourteen locations; *Lucy, or Selim's Complaint*, six imprints, fifteen locations, are typical of the extraordinary popularity of his songs.

If it seems almost surprising (but yet not entirely out of the picture) that Shield and Storace should be so modestly represented, it is well nigh inexplicable that we find only one song by Charles Dibdin. I have but one possible explanation. Dibdin was especially popular for his sea songs, and other songs of a jovial, humorous character. Our only song here, *Poor Tom Bowling*, is one of his more serious songs, inspired by the death of his brother, Captain Thomas Dibdin. Is it not possible, then, that Baltimore was merely exercising a discriminating good taste!

It is an interesting fact (in light of the above) that we find here all four of the Spofforth songs that were published in America during this period (all of them popular everywhere), viz., *The Death of Crazy Jane*, *Ellen, the Richmond Primrose Girl*, *The Woodrobin*, and the duet, *Hark the Goddess Diana*. Can it be that Baltimore had suddenly become three parts sentimental and one part classical? No wonder poor Dibdin fared so ill!

That Mozart is only once represented, need not disturb us unduly. Appreciation of his music was only beginning at this time in America, while Haydn was well known and enjoyed. This one duet of Mozart's, however, *Away with Melancholy*, arranged from his opera, *The Magic Flute*, was very popular.

Arnold's five songs were thoroughly representative—true to the prevailing English type.

In the American group we note first the fourteen songs by John B. Gauline, nine of them published in a collection: *Nine New Songs. Written by a Young Gentleman of Maryland. The Music by I. B. Gauline. Printed for the Author and Sold by R. Shaw, No. 13 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia, and J. Carr's, Gay Street, Baltimore.* This collection was published at about the turn of the century. I know but one other copy, owned by J. Francis Driscoll of Brookline, Massachusetts. While as we have said, Gauline's songs seem to have enjoyed little more than a local popularity, I have seen one of them, *The American Soldier*, in the New York Public Library, and another, *Crazy Emma*, "the words by a lady of Queen Ann's County," as far from home as the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The Library of Congress, also, has copies of several of these songs.

Langdon's one song, *The Primrose*, was "printed for the author" in Philadelphia in 1795. This is the only copy of the only song by Langdon that I have ever seen or heard of.

Benjamin Carr was probably the most prolific, as well as the best schooled, of all our earliest American composers. While his best work came after 1800 and so lies outside our present discussion, the four eighteenth century titles found here include (as already noted) *The Little Sailorboy*, easily the best known of his earlier songs (1798). I have seen this particular issue in at least ten different locations, and there is even a holograph copy in the Keffer Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia, inscribed to a "Mrs. Mann, with the composer's compts," all in Carr's own hand. However it must be admitted that it is a far cry from the sentimental mediocrity of this early song to the really finished artistry of such songs as his *Hymn to the Virgin (Ave Maria)*, published in 1810—a song which despite its undue length and tendency towards a certain Italianate coloratura, is as fresh and spontaneous today as when it was written over a century and a quarter ago.

The other three songs by Carr are found in *The Musical Journal for the Pianoforte*, edited by him and published in Baltimore by his father, Joseph Carr. They all appeared in the first volume (1800) of this important publication, excellently represented here by some dozen numbers.

Of the three songs by Raynor Taylor, *While the Morn is Inviting to Love* was the most popular and is found in some seven different locations. Equally popular were Alexander Reinagle's song, *Rosa*, and James Hewitt's *The Wounded Hussar* (both 1800).

In the group of anonymous songs we find some of the best known songs of the day, including "the favorite Welch air, *Owen*" (always spelled Welch!) issued by four different publishers and found in thirteen different locations—this particular Carr imprint in nine of them. So that we can scarcely call it a rarity! Another popular song found here is *Major Andre's Complaint* (1794), also a Carr imprint with seven locations.

However not all of our collection consists of popular and more or less common issues. It has its own rarities, its own historically interesting items.

To the latter class belongs the copy of Philip Phile's *President's March*, the original melody of *Hail Columbia*, which was adapted to those words and first published under that name in 1798. Here is not the fitting place for a long technical discussion as to what may have been the first edition of this *President's March*. Suffice it to say that the issue found here is one of two (less probably, four) fair claimants to that honor. Its imprint, "Carr & Co.," places it in Philadelphia somewhere between midsummer of 1793 and the fall

of 1794. A copy found only at the Library of Congress, with no imprint, but which from internal evidence seems to have been published by Moller and Capron in Philadelphia sometime in 1793, challenges its priority. In point of fact, Sonneck considered this challenge as justified. However, although in the case of the Carr & Co. imprint, there seems to be somewhat greater latitude as to the possible date of its publication, a fact which might conceivably militate against its claims, I feel that the greater simplicity of its musical arrangement and the general character of the imprint, point toward an earlier issue than that of Moller and Capron. But we can't be sure.

Strangely enough this Carr and Co. imprint, early as it is, is not at all uncommon, being found in at least six locations. It is interesting, too, that the Dielman collection contains some half dozen of these various early "Carr & Co." issues.

Another valuable historical item is the song, *Huzza for the Constellation*, of which I know only four copies. It is one of those sea-fight narratives so dear to the English heart and no less so to us in our early days. "The ninth at noon a sail in view"—"At three P. M. to hail she tried"—"At four P. M. her flag abaft Was struck to the Constellation" and so on. "The ninth" refers to February 9, 1799, when the American frigate *Constellation* met the French *Insurgente* in mortal combat in the Caribbean. The *Constellation* was built in Baltimore under the watchful eye of Captain Thomas Truxton, who was later to win so brilliant a victory as her commander. The Maryland Historical Society does well to place a framed copy of this song on its walls. Incidentally, the vignette of the two fighting ships directly above the title, is a delightful example of eighteenth century American engraving.

There is a variant edition, entitled: *Captⁿ Truxton [!] or Huzza for the Constellation*, with essentially identical music, but different text, and without the vignette. This issue is still rarer, only two copies being known to me—at the Library of Congress, and in the collection of Malcolm N. Stone, West Englewood, New Jersey.

The title, however, which perhaps best combines both rarity and historical interest is: *Yankee Doodle. An Original American Air with Variations for the Pianoforte. Sold at Carr's Musical Repository's Philadelphia & N. York & I. Carr, Baltimore.* Published in 1796, this is in all probability the earliest extant American issue of this famous melody. Thirty-five years ago Sonneck hunted for it in vain. Even now I know of only three copies. And two of the three are here. An embarrassment of riches indeed! In fact, doesn't it

seem a bit miserly? The third copy is in the Keffer Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia.

Not so interesting historically, but even more rare, in that we have here the *only* known copy is: *Linley's Assistant for the Pianoforte. A New Edition*, advertised Sept. 30, 1796, as printed and sold by J. Carr, Baltimore. Under the earlier date of Aug. 6, 1796, the *Federal Gazette* of Baltimore had advertised among recent musical publications: *A New Assistant for the Pianoforte or Harpsichord . . . Compil'd, Compos'd and Arrang'd by F. Linley, Organist of Pentonville*, and published by J. Carr, Baltimore.

These two editions, published at so nearly the same time and practically identical, vary in one important respect. In the August edition, pages 11 to 21 contain six sonatas for pianoforte by Benjamin Carr. In the September issue these sonatas disappear entirely and in their place we find twenty-four "lessons" for the pianoforte (instead of the twelve found in the other edition) followed by a miscellaneous group of well known songs. One wonders why the Carr sonatas were withdrawn from what seems to have been their only publication and these lessons and songs substituted—the latter easily available at any music store. A puzzle which probably will never be solved.

Of the earlier work (with the Carr sonatas) four copies are known; of the *New Edition*, only this one.

There are other issues as well, of which I know no copy except the one here. They are important only through this quality of uniqueness. As such may be listed: *Crazy Lain* by Gauline, published by G. Willig, Philadelphia about 1800; *The Primrose* by Langdon (already noted); an edition of *Happy Tawny Moor*, from *The Mountaineers* by Samuel Arnold, published by B. Carr, New York & Philadelphia & J. Carr, Baltimore, in 1796 (unique in that it lacks the usual third page, numbered 66); and *Within a Mile of Edinborough*, by James Hook, a reprint of page 55 of *The Gentleman's Amusement* (B. Carr, Philadelphia and New York, J. Carr, Baltimore) also 1796.

There are a few items which are shared with only one other location, the most important of these being the variations on *Yankee Doodle* and the collection of Gauline songs, both already mentioned. This collection also shares with the Library of Congress alone the possession of certain items: such as H. Piercy's song, *The Beggar Girl* (without imprint and paged 6 to 8), obviously a reprint from some as yet unidentified collection; also, James Sanderson's *The Cottage on the Moor*, which though again without imprint, seems to be a Carr issue, presumably the one advertised under this title by

the *Federal Gazette*, Baltimore, in November, 1800, as "just published."

There may be other similarly rare and unusual items, but it behooves one to be cautious in saying so.

Any such judgment of mine as expressed in this paper, is based upon a personal examination of some twenty important public, and half a dozen important private collections, throughout the country. But even so, there is always the dreaded chance that one's nearest neighbor may come forward and in that devastatingly casual manner, so characteristic of such occasions, remark, "Nonsense! I have a copy of that very thing in my attic at home." I suppose this never-to-be escaped danger may be salutary in teaching one that if generalizations are never safe, such "specializations" as these may prove even less so! ²

One statement however I make bold to utter without fear of question or challenge (and I dare my next door neighbor to do his worst!) namely, that the Louis H. Dielman Collection of Music is a collection in which the Maryland Historical Society may well take just pride.

² The absolute appositeness of these remarks is attested by the fact that while reading proofs of this very article I received word from our esteemed "neighbor," the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Rhode Island, that they had just acquired (among other things) a copy of *Within a Mile of Edinborough*—the identical imprint which I had noted here as an only copy.

Sic transit gloria!

A TRIP TO WASHINGTON IN 1811

Contributed by THOMAS W. KEMP

The following letters graphically depicting the conditions surrounding life in our national capital during the administration of President Madison are taken from the papers of Andrew Shriver (1762-1847) and family of Union Mills, Big Pipe Creek, Carroll County (at that date part of Frederick County), Maryland. These letters and documents present not only an intimate and detailed history of this family from 1785 to 1847, but reveal many incidents of general historical value. The collection, consisting of considerably more than 1,000 items, has recently been systematically sorted and filed, and is retained in the Andrew Shriver homestead which is still in possession of the family.

Andrew Shriver of Union Mills was the eldest son of David Shriver (1735-1826), of Little Pipe Creek, near Westminster, who was an outstanding patriot of Revolutionary days, a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Maryland, and for 30 years a representative of what was then Frederick County in the Legislature.

The grandfather of Andrew Shriver of Union Mills was Andrew Shriver (1712-1797) of the Conewago settlement in Pennsylvania, a native of Alsenborn, Germany, who is said to have been the first white settler in what is now Adams County, Pennsylvania.

In 1811 the family of Andrew and Elizabeth (Shultz) Shriver (1766-1839) was complete. They had been married 25 years and living at Union Mills, on Big Pipe Creek, about 5 miles south of the Maryland-Pennsylvania line, for 14 years. The 11 children, excepting John S., were all under the roof-tree. They were aged as follows: John S., 23; Thomas, 22; Rebecca, 21; Matilda, 19; James, 17; William, 15; Eliza, 12; Andrew K., 9; Anna Maria, 7; Joseph, 5; Catharine, 3. John S. and Thomas were born at the Little Pipe Creek Homestead of their grandfather David Shriver; Rebecca, Matilda, James and William at Petersboro (now Littlestown), Pennsylvania; the five younger children at Union Mills.

It is evident that at this time Andrew Shriver was much concerned as to the future of his family, particularly the boys. John S. was in Baltimore, but according to the letters he was not yet settled as to a career. A trip to Washington was made by Andrew primarily in the interest of his brother David Shriver, Jr. (1769-1852), but it can be deduced from the letters that in the back of his head Andrew

believed the establishment of David, Jr. in Government work would open opportunities for his own sons. And this proved to be the case. The trip to Washington determined not only the future of his brother David, Jr. but of his sons Thomas, James and Joseph, all of whom engaged in engineering work on the National Road for the Government.

This journey starts from Frederick, where Andrew went to confer with his brother Judge Abraham Shriver (1771-1848), of the Fifth Judicial District of Maryland. Affectionately addressing his wife as "Betsy," Andrew writes as follows:

Friday, Feb. 8, 1811.

Dear Betsy:

I have been induced to go on to the City of Washington. The object of the journey will be explained to you by David. When I shall return I cannot say. If I shall be obliged to stay there any time I shall write from that place.

As it is very likely I shall return thro Balto., send a memd. to John of what may be wanting and I will purchase them as I return that way. I am a good deal uneasy for fear of James neglecting the mill & feeding. I have written in strong language to Tommy. Say what you think needful to James.

I go on David's business which I was induced to consent to under a distinct expectation that I might possibly thereby, in some way be able to do something for John. My stay will depend on the situation of things. How long I can't say. My present expectations are not longer than next week. . . . I leave my horse & go on the stage. Abm. will send the horse by some neighbor.

My Dear Betsy,
Afy. yrs.

And. Shriver.

After three days sojourn in Washington Andrew writes:

Washington City, Tuesday, 12, Feby., 1811.

Dear Betsy:

I arrived at this place on Saty. evening after a very unpleasant ride in the Stage thro the worst roads I ever saw, in a very weak state, having had a purging & vomiting on the road that weakened me much. I kept the house on Sunday & by the use of flaxseed tea & toast water I was capable of being about on Monday & had the pleasure of being introduced to all the leading characters on the Repn. side, and was by Mr. Montgomery (who is brother-in-law to Mr. Galatan¹) invited to his lodgings at Mr. Galatan's where I was received into the family room & took tea with them, Mr. and Mrs. Galatan, Mr. and Mrs. Montgomery and a few of the members being present. I have been invited to dine to-day by Mr. McKim.² Having already seen all the great men of the Nation now here (the President excepted) I am agreeably disappointed in finding them sociable in the extreme. I feel totally without restraint & as much at my ease in their company as if old acquaintances, and

¹ Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury 1801-1813.

² Alexander McKim, Representative from Maryland, 1809-1815.

I have got to know by sight all the members of the Senate so as to know who speaks, &c. In the other house I have not yet been while business was on hand & as there are 140 members there (& but 34 in the Senate) it will not be as easy to know all the leading men in it.

The Capitol is on a piece of high ground & the members of both Houses lodge in perhaps 50 deft. places $\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 miles distant. They all come and go in carriages. If you want to go to either you must take a hack, as it is mud half leg deep in this open weather. The expenses are great. If you go but half a mile the hacks charge 50 cents. Break't & sup'r, 50 cents each; dinner, 75; lodg., 25; beside which you are charged for fire & club [?] at dinner. If a servant brushes your coat he will expect at least 25. I see when gentlemen go away they are paraded and expect to receive from 25 to 1.00, in proportion to the generosity of the lodger & the time he has been at the house.

I could not have hit upon a more interesting time to be here on account of politics, nor a most disagreeable one on account of the weather. It is mud up to the door everywhere, and if you attempt to walk out your feet are afterwards uncomfortable for the whole day, & you feel awkward in a handsome room where everything is clean and neat.

I can't yet say when I shall start home & for David's business I refer you to himself to whom I have wrote fully on the subject.

This letter was not mailed on the above date, but was continued as follows:

Wed'y ev., $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock. I write this to inform you that I have got perfectly well, thanks to a kind God for his mercies. I was afraid when I wrote the enclosed to say how bad I was for fear of alarming you. It was such an attack as I had at home of the bilious colic, but so much worse that I fainted away & fell down in the passage of the tavern & was carried to bed. But I had My perfect senses, took care of my self & am (I repeat it) thank God, perfectly well. I can add nothing to this that will be interesting to you, except what I wrote in David's letter. I am treated with all the respect I can possibly pretend to look for. I have dined to-day by invitation with about 20 reps., among whom was the Att'y Genl. of the U. S., Mr. Rodney, Col. Troup, Gov'r Wright, Gen'l Bradley, Col. Porter, &c., &c.

I shall stay 'till David comes on. Things can't be satisfactorily fixed without he does. I expect he may be here by Sunday or Monday at the farthest, & that I will return to Balto. with him by the middle of next week . . .

I hope & trust Thomas and James will act the part of men. It is on their and John's acct. I have principally come here, thinking I could perhaps see something which could one day turn to their advantage by making myself well acquainted with the state of things here & forming an acquaintance with the leading men of the Rep'n Party in the United States.

I therefore hope & trust that they will act the part of men at home while I am doing all I can for them abroad.

God bless you all & preserve you in health till my return, is the wish of your aff'e

Husband,

Andrew Shriver.

I will only add that I was invited to the President's Drawing Room to-night, but my dress would not well pass there. It may do among men. Say little about these things. It may do among ourselves, but should go no further.

Having laid the groundwork for the appointment of his brother, David Shriver, Jr., as superintendent of the National Road, Andrew awaited his arrival in Washington. However, on account of business and domestic difficulties, David, Jr. was unable to go, and so wrote to Andrew:

Westminster, Saturday, after night, 16 Feb.

Dr. Brother:

I this moment recd. your letter. Am sorry to hear of your bad health, &c. It is impossible for me to go to Washington. While at Frederick, Eve³ was taken sick while alone, fell against the stove and lay there in that way until she came to, with her face immediately against the plate. She burned herself in a shocking manner. . . . It is impossible to say how bad the wound will be as yet, but at best is shocking in the extreme. But if this was not in the way I could not go. . . . Indeed fifty things more make it impossible which is not necessary to relate. . . . If I could go what purpose would it answer? If they have a mind to appoint me they can do so, if otherwise they may let it alone. I do not think I have been well treated already and should their business go on in the same way should be glad to have nothing to do with it. You will act as you please, but I would rather that you would not trouble yourself more, but let them do as they please. I conceive it is as much their interest as mine, and I be d——d if I beg for it, nor will I serve them for less than I told Mr. G.⁴ This fumbling work I do not like. . . .

It is useless for me to say more. I know you are acquainted with it all, and I only mention it to convince you that I do not view the appointment so desirable as my friends do.

I am affectionately yours,

David Shriver, Jr.

Undaunted by the indifference of his brother, Andrew Shriver goes from Washington to Baltimore to meet David, Jr. at the meeting of the board of directors of the Baltimore & Reisterstown Turnpike Road Company, and thus writes home:

Balto., Monday, Feb'y 25, 1811.

My Dear Betsy:

I arrived here last eve. in the stage from Washington and recd. from John your welcome letter and was very much pleased to hear that all was going on so well at home. I have also the pleasure to inform you that I nearly quite

³ Eve (Sherman) Shriver, wife of David Shriver, Jr.

⁴ Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin.

recovered from the attack of bilious colic with which I was so severely visited and which I was very much afraid of as I had before experienced the effects at home and dreaded it much there where I was surrounded only with negro waiters.

I shall be obliged to stay here and meet David on Friday next (when he comes down to meet the board). But for that I would be up with the stage on Wed'd, for I never was much more desirous to be at home and I assure you the pleasure of the society of my family and the enjoyment of my own fireside, humble as it is, far, very far, exceeds all the tinsel and ornament & parade of the great world. But I cannot complain for I was everywhere treated with most distinguished respect, far exceeding my expectations. But the journey from Fred'k to Washington & from there here has been intolerable. None of the road paved & mud up to the axletree every step. Travelling in a market wagon is quite as expeditious and far more comfortable. . . .

I have been induced to stay at Washington much longer than I intended on acct. of David's business, as well as with a view to pave the way for doing something for the boys. I have got intimately acquainted with all the Heads of Departments and the leading Rep'n members in both Houses of Congress. I have seen the President several times & was at Madam Madison's to tea, where I was introduced to all the foreign ministers & saw all the most distinguished ladies of the Nation, and what is more, nearly half naked. But it has been a very expensive trip. There is mud every step up to the instep. In that condition, of course, a hack is constantly wanted & you could easily spend \$10 a day only on hack hire. Mr. McKim and myself paid \$4 for one from his lodgings to the President's.

I hope Thomas & James will not neglect matters, at least Thomas who is the elder & ought to supply my place. What I have done was done with a view to their advantage, not for my gratification. . . . I shall with much pleasure turn my face towards home the first moment in my power & in the mean time Dr. Betsy, with affection yours,

Andrew Shriver.

There are many other letters and documents in the collection bearing on this visit of Andrew Shriver to Washington, but those quoted above give the local color of that day.

Among the papers preserved, for instance, is a memorandum by David Shriver, Jr., setting forth with great technical detail the requirements for the proper construction of paved roads and the best methods of letting contracts therefor. Undoubtedly the experience and professional ability revealed in this memorandum finally prompted Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin to appoint him Superintendent of Construction of the National Road. There are also letters from the wife and sons of Andrew Shriver reporting home affairs. Even his tavern bills were retained.

This record would not be complete without further reference to those whose lives were influenced through what was accomplished

by Andrew Shriver on his visit to Washington. There is, therefore, appended a brief outline of their lives:⁶

David Shriver, Jr. (1769-1852), brother of Andrew Shriver of Union Mills, was originally associated with the latter in the founding of Union Mills. He relinquished his interest to become superintendent of location and construction of the Reisterstown turnpike. Upon appointment as Superintendent of Construction of the National Road he moved to Cumberland in 1812. Afterwards he was commissioned by the Government to survey the extension of the National Road to St. Louis, Mo. Relinquishing this position, he was appointed by the President on the Board of Public Works, upon which he served with distinction for a number of years. He finally settled in Wheeling, W. Va. He married Eve Sherman, of Westminster. They had three sons and one daughter.

Thomas Shriver (1789-1879), second son of Andrew Shriver, was a colorful and ingenious character. In early manhood he was engaged in the lumber business in York, Pa., at which time he raised a company of militia for the defense of Baltimore in 1814. He was an inventive genius and conceived and applied the elliptic spring for use on horse-drawn vehicles. He was associated with his brother, Joseph, in projecting the route of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, the result being the adoption of plans submitted by them for crossing the Gunpowder and Bush rivers by the use of pile bridges. He moved to Cumberland in 1834, was mayor of the city for several terms and was interested in numerous enterprises, including a stage company for western travel. In 1853 he established an omnibus line in Philadelphia. He finally moved to New York and organized the firm of T. Shriver & Co., founders, which proved a profitable business for several generations. He married Ann E. Sharpe, of York, Pa., and had five sons and five daughters.

James Shriver (1794-1826), third son of Andrew Shriver, became an assistant to his uncle David in the location of the National Road. In 1824 he made preliminary surveys for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, perfecting maps and estimates for its construction. In 1825 he was appointed Government Chief of the Brigade of Engineers to survey and locate the mountain division of the canal. He was further commissioned in 1826 to survey for the Wabash Canal in Indiana. He was stricken with typhus fever and died at Fort Wayne, thus cutting short what promised to be a brilliant career as an

⁶ See *History of the Shriver Family and Their Connections, 1684-1888*, compiled and edited by Samuel S. Shriver, Baltimore, 1888.

engineer. He was married to Elizabeth E. Miller, of Uniontown, Pa. Their children were Eliza Jane and Samuel S.

Joseph Shriver (1806-1886), sixth and youngest son of Andrew Shriver, was educated in Baltimore as a civil engineer. He assisted his brother James in the surveys for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. In 1826 he was engaged in locating the National Road west of Wheeling and completed the surveys of this road from Indianapolis to Jefferson City, Mo. He was also associated with Jonathan Knight in surveying for the B. & O. R. R., and with his brother Thomas, as noted above, in projecting the P., W. & B. R. R. In 1833 his Uncle David enlisted his services in the re-establishment of the old Cumberland Bank of Allegany. He was cashier of this bank until 1852, when he succeeded his uncle as president. He was a prominent citizen of Cumberland until his death. He married Henrietta Jane Causten, of Washington, D. C.; their family consisted of four sons and six daughters.

BOOK REVIEWS

I Rode with Stonewall; Being Chiefly the War Experiences of the Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff, from the John Brown Raid to the Hanging of Mrs. Surratt. By HENRY KYD DOUGLAS. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, [1940]. 401 pp. \$3.00.

Here is a truly excellent narrative of the Civil War, or more particularly the Virginia and Maryland campaigns, as observed by an officer who saw clearly most of the great events of those heroic years, remembered well what he had seen, and recorded it modestly, simply, and well. It is too bad that so rich a narrative should have been so long in coming to light, and one regrets the modesty and diffidence which seem to have been the cause.

For Henry Kyd Douglas had much to say. He was born in 1840 in Shepherdstown, and hence was growing up in those eventful years when a strange, gaunt old man known as Isaac Smith was puttering around the hills near Harper's Ferry. The old fellow's cart was bogged one day, and young Douglas obligingly helped him get it started again, with the heavy box which had caused it to break down. It was some time later that Isaac Smith, the miner, proved to be John Brown of Ossawatomie; the box which young Douglas had innocently helped him rescue was filled with the pikes with which Brown was planning to arm the Negroes he sought to free. A little later Douglas saw the assault on Brown's "fort" and his capture.

This same narrator, six years later, through the lying treachery of a scamp, was to be arrested after Lincoln's murder, locked in a cell next to the Surratts, and roughly handled as a witness, protesting angrily against the imputation that he and his fellow Confederate officers had been connected in any way with the assassination.

Thus both in the most dramatic prelude to the War and in one of its most tragic postludes this same man was an observer. Between the two he saw much more, of which he indeed was a part, for he served on the staff of his adored Stonewall Jackson, commanded two Virginia regiments, was six times wounded (severely at Gettysburg) was cited for bravery, taken prisoner, paroled and given a brigade—the brigade which fired the last shot at Appomattox—and immediately after the war tried for treason, on the remarkable charge that he had worn his rebel uniform in order to have his picture taken!

In the pages are countless episodes of more than fleeting interest, and encounters with most of the heroic figures of the Virginia campaigns. Stonewall Jackson is adored, but there are chuckling stories about him which are worth reading, notably of the cold evening when Old Jack welcomed a bottle which someone had given him and, thinking it to be wine, took a mighty swig straight from the bottleneck. It was whisky, but Stonewall calmly ignored the mistake, or sought to. However, he was under the impression that the air was very warm, when actually it was getting colder all the time—the truth being, in Mr. Douglas' words, that Old Jack was "incipiently tight."

One recalls the tale of a dejected member of the Stonewall Brigade who

audibly wished the Yankees were in hell. "I don't," rejoined a comrade. "Old Jack would follow them there, with our brigade in front."

The redoubtable Belle Boyd was a boyhood acquaintance of Douglas. She appears fleetingly in the narrative, as do a great many lesser figures whom Douglas had known in civil life and was to know again after war's tumults ended. He is well remembered among many now in Baltimore and in Hagerstown where Mr. Douglas lived for some time, as judge of the Fourth Circuit, as major general commanding the Maryland troops in the 1894 strike, and as a courtly, scholarly citizen with many friends.

He died in 1903, his memoirs in excellent condition, for he had revised his original diary as passing years gave him better perspective. His nephew, John Kyd Beckenbaugh of Sharpsburg, inherited the papers, strangely enough did nothing with them for thirty-odd years, then fortunately made them available to the Chapel Hill press, and to Fletcher M. Green who has annotated the text. Mr. Beckenbaugh himself died only a few weeks ago, as the book was coming from the press. He would have been startled, one may surmise, by the heartiness of the praise given by many reviewers to the manuscript he left unpublished for so long.

MARK S. WATSON.

Hugh Young: A Surgeon's Autobiography. [By HUGH HAMPTON YOUNG.]
New York, Harcourt, Brace, [1940]. 554 pp. \$5.00

There are many remarkable things in Dr. Hugh Young's book about his own astonishing career. One of them is the title, not "The Doctor Looks at Something-or-Other," or anything cute like that, but just "Hugh Young, A Surgeon's Autobiography." In addition to "A Surgeon's Autobiography" it might as accurately have been called "A Soldier's Autobiography," "Autobiography of a G. U. Pioneer," "Autobiography of an Art Patron," or of "A Statesman." Another good one would have been "Autobiography of Indefatigability," for there has seldom been a man so tireless in his pursuit of everything from a kidney stone to a politician; and it is difficult to tell which he could operate upon more expertly when he wasn't operating upon both simultaneously.

Many reviewers have had a crack at this book and the great variety of their reviews is an indication of what is in it, but this reviewer has seen none which sufficiently noticed Dr. Young's immense gifts as a political strategist. The reason for this is probably that while most of the reviews this writer has seen were in publications of national circulation, Dr. Young's talents at shaking down great statesmen for the benefit of the body politic were exercised chiefly in respect to matters concerning the State of Maryland only, and hence were of little interest to reviewers on the big time. But they are of great interest here because not a few of the Doctor's Machiavellian forays left their mark upon the *corpus* and nature of the Free State and hence have considerable historical importance. They were also of particular interest to this reviewer because, as a reporter, he saw Dr. Young in action years ago at Annapolis when the State Legislature was in session, and knows how he used to work. Whenever he got into an affair of state he first surveyed the field and spotted all the strategic positions occupied by former patients. He never

seems to have had any trouble organizing them into a very effective sort of "old school" team; for there probably never was a leader of American democracy from "Diamond Jim" Brady downward and upward, who, once restored to comfort and virility by Dr. Young, wouldn't "go to town" for him when called upon.

He called upon them so frequently that a good case might be made out for the theory that he saved them on the operating table in the first place in order to have them on hand when he needed them in the halls of legislation; but that would, of course, be a far-fetched theory. Nevertheless that's the way it worked out. It was in that fashion that he saved the Maryland tuberculosis bills in the Maryland Legislature in the winter of 1903. He did more than save these bills, he literally raised them from the dead, for they had been killed and their backers had quit the field. These backers included such Johns Hopkins medical giants as Osler, Welch, and Thayer, great men but lacking in glamour to a politician. Dr. Young read in the evening papers that the bills had been unfavorably reported, telephoned the despondent Dr. Thayer who told him there was nothing anybody could do; dashed off nevertheless to Annapolis where he looked several old patients in the eye and wagged a powerfully admonitory and reminiscent forefinger at them; and, although the session was virtually over and the statesmen running for the cloakrooms, got the bills brought out again, passed, and signed by the Governor "in a fashion entirely incomprehensible to the political reporters."

Dr. Osler, it is reported, exclaimed, as he passed Dr. Young in the hospital corridor a few days later, "That was fine work, Young, getting those bills passed!" Whereupon the great Osler undertook a horseback diagnosis of the reason Dr. Young had been able to accomplish this feat. But for this key to much of Hugh Young's success in statesmanship and politics you must read the book. It isn't fair to give everything away in a review.

Thus, also, he helped kill an abortive state prohibition bill in 1915-16, lining up an aggregation of ecclesiastics and physicians headed by Cardinal Gibbons, whose name led an imposing list in a full-page advertisement of protest in *The Sun*; he drove purse-netting from the Chesapeake Bay, organized the first State Aviation Commission, practically kidnapped Anthony Eden to bring him to Baltimore, created a creditable Maryland Exhibit for the New York World's Fair in 1939, with six weeks to go and the papers booing the whole idea; and got the United States Naval Academy Band sent to New York for "Maryland Day" at the Fair through the simple expedient of a special Act of Congress which he shoved through both Houses and the White House just 48 hours before "Maryland Day" was to be celebrated.

The simple recitals of these events not only constitute some of the most engrossing chapters of the book for Marylanders, but they introduce the author as a story-teller with a highly expert reportorial gift for recreating scenes and situations in simple, strong outlines of prose, totally free of useless verbiage. In all the 554 pages there isn't a word wasted; indeed, you wish that some of his best stories might have been told more fulsomely than they are. But by resisting the urge to loquacity he not only promoted vividness but maintained modesty—an extremely difficult thing for a John Bunyan of genito-urinary surgery to do when telling about hair-raising exploits of his own. He accomplishes this difficult feat by sticking sternly to reciting what happened. The book swarms with simple, unvarnished facts, but is extremely

close-mouthed about what the author thought, either of the people or the affairs involved. Maybe he is saving what he thought for another book, and the suggestion that he write one is passed along herewith. It would be a good one.

With the reputation of Young, the world-famous genito-urinary surgeon Marylanders generally are familiar; they know of his work in France in the World War when, as head of the Division of Urology of the A. E. F. he worked so successfully (as he puts it), "to make the underworld safe for democracy," that the army made an all-time record for the control of venereal disease in war-time; and they know of his vast and tireless interest in art, history, music, aviation and politics. What may not have been understood about Hugh Young is the combination of limitless industry, steady ambition, insatiable curiosity, indefatigable patience and wide interest in all human affairs which made him a genius in his own profession and at the same time an expert and connoisseur of no mean quality in many professions pursued by other men. He was the kind of man who was capable of success at anything he undertook, who undertook much, and who never was content with anything less than success. All this, in spite of his effort to keep it purely factual, shines through the pages of this book which he wrote while he had the shingles. If you've ever had the shingles, try to imagine writing a 600-page autobiography while you had them. There are a thousand ways to measure the stature of Hugh Young but perhaps, in the long run, this is as good a way as any.

RAYMOND S. TOMPKINS.

My Dear Lady, the Story of Anna Ella Carroll, the Great, Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet. By MARJORIE BARSTOW GREENBIE. New York, Whittlesey House, 1940. 316 pp. \$2.75.

Anna Ella Carroll was the most remarkable woman that Maryland has produced, and anything about her is certain to be interesting.

And so, *My Dear Lady* makes interesting reading for those who wish to be entertained and for those who like the modern type of biography in which fact and fiction are pleasantly blended.

Mrs. Greenbie quotes Bishop McClelland, of the Episcopal Diocese of Easton, as saying that the life of Anna Ella Carroll cannot be told in a biography, but only in a "novel." A "novel," according to the late Mr. Webster, is a "fictitious story or romance," and *My Dear Lady* is just that, with enough historical background to satisfy the casual reader.

There has always been much mystery about Miss Carroll, and Mrs. Greenbie's book only deepens that mystery and makes that amazing woman more of an enigma than ever. All of which makes for entertainment, but it hardly adds to our knowledge of Miss Carroll. And certainly it adds nothing to her fame.

Mrs. Greenbie depicts Miss Carroll as a sort of Hollywood spy, who entertained the Southern leaders at fashionable soirées in Washington and reported their dinner table gossip to the Northerners.

In her efforts to make Miss Carroll a glamor girl, the author takes undue liberties with her heroine's character. She repeats the ridiculous story that ten

years before the War Between the States Jefferson Davis had complete plans for a Southern Confederacy to include the slave States, Cuba, Mexico and Central America.

Mrs. Greenbie says that Henry Clay procured these plans under circumstances so dubious that the method could not be made public. And in the very next sentence the author suggests that it was Miss Carroll who furnished the method.

Anna Ella Carroll deserves a real biography, but it has yet to be written.

RICHARD D. STEUART.

Mrs. Robert E. Lee. By ROSE MORTIMER ELLZEY MACDONALD. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1939. xxvi, 310 pp. \$1.60.

Rose M. E. MacDonald's *Mrs. Robert E. Lee* is based on sound scholarship. The bibliography attests to that. So does the fact that as able a historian as Matthew Page Andrews, of this Society, says a "word about the book." It is vouched for also by the fact that Douglas Southall Freeman, part editor, part historian and wholly Southerner, writes the introduction. Indeed, to do a biography of any Southern gentlewoman takes both scholarship and perseverance. Mr. Freeman is exactly right when he says that ladies never figured in the public news and that ladies' letters were, because of that, usually destroyed. One Southern senator, who resigned in 1860, had a wife and several children, yet, in all the thirty-five volumes of his manuscript letters, there is only one letter from his wife, and that one was written on the back of another letter received. Small wonder then that there are gaps in the story of Mary Anna Randolph Custis Lee, and that the biographer, who regrets that fact more than her readers can do, has given us much background. Mrs. Lee stands out from her background and dominates it. In her way she had as high courage as her husband did. When he left her, in February 1856, she was not well; but she could write him letters full of cheerful news, letters asking his advice about crops or slaves or children, without telling him about her wakeful nights and her useless right arm.

The format of the book is its least attractive feature. The illustrations, largely interesting family portraits and old prints and photographs, suffer from poor reproduction.

That Mrs. Lee still stands in the shadow of her husband, in the sense that no biography of her would have been thought of, had she not been his wife, is true. The student of military tactics and strategy can neglect it, but the student of the whole Robert E. Lee should not. Ye this *Life* is not dominated by him: it is the life of Mrs. Robert E. Lee.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion. Compiled by workers of the Federal Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration. . . . New York, Oxford University Press [1940]. 699 pp. \$3.00.

Virginia and Massachusetts vie with each other for first place in having within their state boundaries the greatest number of historic landmarks.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the guide book prepared under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Virginia is rich in material for those who wish to recapture the past as they swiftly motor along modern roads. Divided into four main sections: Virginia's Background, Cities, Tours, Appendices, it is the special treatment of the background material that sets this guide book apart from the others in the series. Written in delightful essay form, the cultural and economic background of Virginia is presented so that the many complexities of education and commerce and agriculture, are traced skilfully from colonial days through to 1940, giving the reader a bird's eye view of Virginia's place in both the colonies and nation.

The tours have been so planned that not only those who come from afar find it possible to take in the maximum number of points in one trip, but as well those who live in states adjacent to Virginia can adapt many of the tours to provide fascinating holidays or even half-holidays. The subject matter, while necessarily concise (and this is of advantage when reading quickly en route) is colorful and manages to include many facts not found in the more formal histories which, up to now, have been the only source of historical information for the average person. The index is good, the illustrations unusually fine. All in all, this makes a splendid companion piece to the Maryland *Guide* for all Marylanders to tuck in some convenient car nook.

BETA KAESSMANN MANAKEE.

Gilbert Stuart and His Pupils; Together with the Complete Notes on Painting by Matthew Harris Jouett from Conversations with Gilbert Stuart in 1816. By JOHN HILL MORGAN. New York, New York Historical Society, 1939. 102 pp. \$3.50.

This is a partial and indirect study of the great American portrait painter and his circle, but Mr. Morgan has nevertheless made a clear contribution to the Gilbert Stuart material. In view of his title the author takes too much for granted our familiarity with the life and work of his major figure. He proceeds at once to present the factual and legendary grounds for believing that twenty-two men and women may or may not have been the friends, pupils or associates of Gilbert Stuart. The value of the book lies in the author's scrupulous regard for data. In no case does he presume upon it, although the title of the volume itself and the presence, as chapter-headings, of such names as Rembrandt Peale and Samuel F. B. Morse may temporarily mislead the reader. A real contribution is the first printing, in its entirety, of Matthew Jouett's notes on painting and conversations with Stuart. "Flesh is like no other substance under heaven. It has all the gaiety of a silk mercers shop without the gaudiness or glare and all the soberness of old mahogany without its deadness or sadness" (p. 83). To those who know his portraits, such words carry the ring of Gilbert Stuart's voice and echo the force of Brower's mask of the old Rhode Islander (frontispiece).

Mr. Stuart would surely have liked the dignified and elegant printing of this book which maintains the high standard of the Society's publications.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER.

Chesapeake Bay Cook Book. . . . By FERDINAND C. LATROBE. . . . Illustrated by Yardley. Baltimore, Horn-Shafer Co, 1940. [48 pp.] 50 cents.

To those of us who have cruised the Chesapeake Bay and its environs, with the water sparkling, the green hills close, but not too close, the headlands opening away before us, or have tossed upon it on a sullen day, with gray clouds, low hanging, and a sharp wind behind, this little book comes somewhat as an eye-opener, and a surprise. For, though we suspected what treasures the Bay held, and have often gone on a vain quest for them, we did not realize, until now, the infinite varieties of the Chesapeake's yield, and the many things that can be done with them. Mr. Latrobe's booklet has enlightened us. And not only that. He has introduced us to at least one new species of clam, and a great many useful and wise rules to follow in the preparation of all seafoods.

Though this is a book of recipes gathered, says Mr. Latrobe, from far and wide, from manuscripts, from old clippings, from ancient household treasures and from recollection and research, all of them have been tried, and not found wanting. If the proof of the recipe is the eating thereof, we can accept these as being as delicious as they are authentic. Indeed, in looking them over, we were immediately consumed by an overwhelming desire to do the things he suggests to oysters, crabs, shrimps, and even (if anyone should *insist* that we be the recipient of a magnificent gift) diamond-back terrapin. For one thing, the recipes are simple enough for the average cook (if any) to prepare. They consist of ingredients which are all easily obtainable—an unusual quality in a cook book, most of which discourage the amateur by calling for the most unheard of materials, only to be found in the market-places of Yugoslavia, or one of the extinct Channel ports. We were particularly intrigued by, and will try Mr. Latrobe's recipe for *Bouillabaise*. Not only does it look possible, but even probable. We like, too, and heartily agree with his dictum that "to dip good oysters into cocktail sauces completely destroys their flavor, and is a sinful waste. It is far better to eat the oysters for themselves alone, and enjoy the cocktail on crackers."

At any rate, the book had our mouth watering, and our sleeves rolled up. The slight touch of history which Mr. Latrobe judiciously adds, only serves to flavor his concoctions the more, and the Yardley illustrations do to this little book what an excellent sauce does to a well seasoned dish, or that extra maraschino cherry to something served in a sherbert-glass. If the "dark unfathomed caves" of the Chesapeake bear such richness, Mr. Latrobe has put it upon our tables, as it were, with a flourish. As good Marylanders, true to our tradition, the least we can do is to take advantage of it.

AMY GREIF.

. . . *Guide to the Material in the National Archives*. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940. 303 pp. \$.70 cloth; \$.40 paper.

A preliminary guide to the materials which began to flow into the National Archives building in December 1935 was published two years ago in an appendix to the *Third Annual Report of the Archivist*. The present publication entirely supersedes the earlier one, but it is itself only tentative, for it does not include all the materials now on deposit and its treatment of the

records from the various depositing offices is not only incomplete but lacking in uniformity, since the study of some groups of records has progressed farther than others. This reviewer does not, however, feel that any apology is necessary for the publication of such a guide. No one now can know how long it will take to study the vast amount of material which has already been deposited, especially when almost every custodial office sent along its own cumulative catchall of records known as "Miscellaneous Records," the nightmare of all archival establishments, and no one can predict what the rate of flow will be in the future or what cataloguing personnel the Congress will provide. Even such a tentative guide represents an incalculable investment of time and labor; its usefulness to scholars in all fields of American life should justify the cost.

MORRIS L. RADOFF.

Some Descendants of Nathaniel Woodward, Mathematician. Compiled by PERCY EMMONS WOODWARD. Edited for the author by Mary Lovering Holman. Newtonville, Mass., 1940. 63 pp.

A strictly Massachusetts work, the *Woodward Genealogy* does not attempt to present a complete record of the family. It carries the male line only, but includes all descendants of Nathaniel Woodward named Woodward from the early 17th century to the present day. It provides an interesting study of unusual New England names. The frontispiece is a reproduction of Woodward's and Saffery's map (1642) showing the region from Boston to Springfield, with parts of Connecticut and Rhode Island. An Index of Persons provides a complete catalogue of the names mentioned.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown. By LUCY LEIGH BOWIE. Frederick, Md. State School for the Deaf [1939]. 31 pp.

Old Fredericktown. . . . By WILLIAM CRAWFORD JOHNSON, M. D. Frederick, Md., State School for the Deaf [1938] 16 pp.

Miss Bowie's interest in the barracks at Frederick led her to collect all the facts, known and unknown, about the old stone building that quartered the Hessian prisoners during the Revolution and part of which still stands on the grounds of the Maryland State School for the Deaf at Frederick. Efforts to prove that the barracks were built during the Indian Wars have been unavailing; Miss Bowie concludes that the matter must remain in doubt until land records definitely locating the barracks may be found. The subsequent history of the barracks is interestingly told and is interlarded with many picturesque details.

Old Fredericktown is an address delivered by Dr. Johnson before the Frederick Rotary Club. It retells the story of the settlement of the city, its growth as a station on the route to the West, its numerous picturesque taverns, and the part played by its citizens in throwing off the yoke of the British Empire.

CHARLES HIRSCHFELD.

A History of the Germania Club. By DIETER CUNZ [Baltimore, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1940] 27 pp.

In celebration of a century of existence this booklet traces in pleasant fashion the ups and downs of the leading social organization of Baltimoreans of German birth and extraction. Dr. Cunz, who is engaged in the extensive undertaking of preparing a history of the German element in Maryland from early times, has drawn material for this account from the somewhat sketchy though continuous records of the Club.

Correction—In the last number of the Magazine the price of the recent volume of genealogy published by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland was given as \$10.00. This is the prepublication price. The book is now priced at \$15.00.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PLANS FOR RESTORATION OF SMALLWOOD'S RETREAT

Charles Countians interested in preserving historical monuments of Maryland have purchased the ruins of the home of General William Smallwood and established the Smallwood Foundation, Inc., to carry out the restoration of the home and burial place of Maryland's foremost Revolutionary soldier and early governor.

Mrs. Foster M. Reeder, of Mount Victoria, is president of the Foundation and the originator of the movement. Mrs. Reeder is directly descended from Colonel William Truman Stoddert, nephew of General Smallwood, and lives at West Hatton, the mansion being the original home of Colonel Stoddert. Mrs. Edith B. Lloyd, of Wicomico Knoll, Mount Victoria, wife of Major William H. Lloyd, U. S. A., retired, is secretary of the Foundation, and Mr. H. S. Swann, of La Plata, is treasurer.

Mr. James H. Wills, owner of La Grange, the home of Surgeon General James Craik of the Revolutionary Army; Mrs. Frank Jack Fletcher, wife of Admiral Fletcher, U. S. N., and owner of Araby, the home of Mrs. George Mason; Judge Walter J. Mitchell, Mr. Charles Stephenson Smith, owner of Havre de Venture, home of Thomas Stone, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and many other Southern Marylanders are interested in the effort to restore the old mansion.

Plans for restoration have been prepared with great care by the National Park Service. The property is at Rison Post Office, about 25 miles south of Washington, in Charles County, on Route 224. A marker on this highway indicates the entrance. A campaign to raise funds for the restoration is under preparation. The Foundation is eager to locate all relatives of General Smallwood and to assemble documents and possessions throwing light on his home life. The Maryland Sons of the American Revolution erected a granite monument over General Smallwood's grave, immediately in front of the home, July 4, 1898.

Mrs. Reeder and Mr. Smith told of the Foundation's plans before a luncheon of the Smallwood Chapter of the D. A. R., in Baltimore last

winter, and enlisted the support of that organization, which had already erected a tablet to the great soldier in Durham Protestant Episcopal Church, a few miles from Smallwood's Retreat, which is the name of the historic estate. General Smallwood was a member of the vestry of this venerable church and had it re-roofed and repaired at his own expense.

Smallwood's Retreat is part of Mattowoman, a great property owned by Bayne Smallwood, father of the general, whose mother was Priscilla Hebard, of Virginia. The property is located on Mattowoman Creek, near where it empties into the Potomac, and lies opposite Gunston Hall, the home of George Mason.

Mason, Washington, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, John Hanson, Thomas Stone, Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, Dr. James Craik and other outstanding patriots were neighbors and friends of Smallwood who frequently visited his home. One of the upper rooms in the house was used as a meeting place for the Masonic fraternity.

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN, HIS SETTLERS, AND CERTAIN OF HIS DESCENDANTS

I have been assembling records for the past several years on the efforts of my ancestor, Sir Edmund Plowden, to plant a settlement during the period 1634-1650 in his Proprietary Province of New Albion, now New Jersey and adjacent territory (See *William and Mary Quarterly*, January, 1940, pp. 62-78). Plowden (also known as Earl of Albion), blocked by the Swedes on the Delaware, arrived in Virginia with his settlers in December 1642. He had planned just a short sojourn there, but as misfortunes continued to interfere with his colonizing plans, Plowden remained in Virginia until the spring of 1648, when he sailed back to England. Unpublished Virginia county court records show he lived mainly in Elizabeth City County, also in York and Northampton Counties. Plowden died in England in 1659.

(1) I should be glad to know of any unpublished records showing that Plowden was in Maryland. He was of a Catholic family; he corresponded in 1639 with Lord Baltimore; and some evidence indicates he originally planned his colony as another Catholic haven.

(2) I should like to know of any Maryland residents who came to America in 1642 as Plowden's colonists. Of the three who are known I want more data, these being Eleanor Stevenson who married Capt. William Branthwait; her sister Jane who was in Maryland in 1643; and Anne Fletcher, Plowden's "lame maid servant," whom Giles Brent brought to Kent Island in 1643.

(3) I should like to find records of Sir Edmund's great grandson, George Plowden, Jr., whose father, George Plowden (1663-1713) came out from England in 1685 and settled at "Resurrection Manor" on the Patuxent. George, whose father was Francis, Sir Edmund's eldest son, married about 1694, Margaret Brent, a daughter of Giles Brent, and a granddaughter of Gov. Giles Brent and Mary Kittamaquund. George and Margaret had two other children besides George Jr.: Mary, who married John Nuthall; and Edmund (1696-1758), who, with his wife Henrietta Slye (1710-1796), became the ancestors of the St. Mary County Plowdens.

George Jr. inherited two farms under his father's will, probated Nov. 1713. He witnessed Richard Fenwick's will in Maryland in April, 1714. I

would like to know if Jean Spalding became his wife, she being the daughter of Ann Jenkins (D-1761) and William Spalding (1678-1741), and being mentioned in her father's will, written in Maryland in 1740, as Jean Plowden. I would also like records of George Jr.'s birth, death, residence, descendants, etc. Perhaps after his father's death he moved to Frederick, Md., where I have heard there are some early Plowden records.

CLIFFORD LEWIS 3RD,
240 So. Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

MR. GEORGE T. NESS, JR., a practicing attorney of Baltimore, is engaged in a study of Marylanders who have been members of the United States Supreme Court. He is instructor in American history at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. ☆ A graduate of the Johns Hopkins University and holder of a doctorate from Brown University where his studies in American history were directed by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, JOSEPH T. WHEELER is now a member of the Minneapolis Public Library staff. ☆ The letters of A. C. Hanson, second of the name, contributed by JOSEPH H. SCHAUNGER, were discovered in the course of the latter's biographical study of William Gaston of North Carolina. Mr. Schauinger is a graduate of Indiana University and holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Georgetown University. ☆ While writing *The Romantic Decatur*, published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1937, PROFESSOR CHARLES LEE LEWIS of the Department of English at the United States Naval Academy, gathered material for the article here printed for the first time. ☆ Author of *Art-Song in America, a Study in the Development of American Music* and of a biography of Anthony Philip Heinrich, composer, WILLIAM TREAT UPTON is a retired member of the faculty of Oberlin Conservatory of Music where for 30 years he was professor of piano. He is now continuing research in American musical history at the Library of Congress. ☆ A descendant of Andrew Shriver, some of whose letters he edited for the *Magazine*, MR. THOMAS W. KEMP, retired newspaper man, lived until his death on November 13 in the old Shriver home at Union Mills, close to the great brick grist mill which his forbears built and which the family still controls.

The October issue of *The American Historical Review* (XLVI, 1-20) contains an interesting article by Prof. Charles A. Barker of Stanford University on "Maryland Before the Revolution: Society and Thought." Social differentiation and economic decentralization are given as the principal characteristics of the Province. The more orthodox attitudes of the outlying sections are described, and then the thought and feeling in the lower counties are analyzed from four points of view: legalism, political liberalism, religious skepticism, and literary values. The point is made that liberal convictions reached down through all levels of society, and it is suggested that this

accounted, not only for the revolutionary impulse in Maryland, but also for the ease with which "men of great property were able to take and keep the reins of government even while the Revolution transformed the province into the state."

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Hobbs—Would like information regarding parents of John Ridgely Hobbs, born July 4, 1799, in Anne Arundel Co., Maryland.

M. L. NICHOLS,
3819 N. Willamette Blvd., Portland, Oregon.

Frizzell—I would like to have genealogical data for Frizzells whose ancestors first settled in Maryland and migrated to Virginia, North Carolina, and other Southern states. My great-great grandfather was Nathan Frizzell, born in Baltimore County, Maryland, August 7, 1759; was a soldier in the Revolutionary War from South Carolina; moved from Anson County, North Carolina, in 1802, to Bedford County, Tennessee; died in Calloway County, Kentucky, December 17, 1843.

BONNER FRIZZELL,
Palestine, Texas.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

October 14, 1940.—The meeting of the Society was held at 8.15 o'clock with President Radcliffe in the chair. In listing donations to the library and gallery the Librarian expressed the Society's thanks for defraying the cost of binding of the first 86 volumes of the D. A. R. Lineage Books, to the Baltimore Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; for the gift of the Joseph B. Legg collection of historical data and photographs, and the valuable additions made by Mr. Louis H. Dielman to the collection of Baltimore sheet music. The presentation by Miss Ethel M. Miller of eight grandfather clocks, from the Edgar G. Miller, Jr., Collection, was noted with appreciation. Dr. J. Hall Pleasants reported the valuable donation by Mr. Carl D. Clarke of his skill in restoring several paintings for the Society, among them the two small portraits from the Richard H. Thompson estate. The thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Clarke who was present.

The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Meiric K. Dutton	Mrs. William Chase Orem
Mr. Cuyler Hammond	Mr. W. Kennon Perrin
Mr. Benedict Henry Hanson, Jr.,	Mrs. Francis H. Purnell
Mr. Thomas Hartley Marshall, Jr.,	Dr. Charles W. Wainwright
Mr. Holt Maulsby	Dr. Howard H. Warner

Associate

Mrs. Frederick Dearborn

Mrs. Garland P. Ferrell

The following deaths were reported:

James Harford Cranwell, on May 15, 1940.

John Hinkley, on July 18, 1940.

W. George Hynson, on September 10, 1940.

Mrs. Francis T. Redwood (Mary Buchanan), on September 4, 1940.
(Life Member)

Timothy Ryan, Jr., on July 12, 1940.

Miss Sarah Elizabeth Stuart, on August 11, 1940.

Mr. John Henry Scarff gave a most interesting talk on "English Precedent for American Colonial Architecture," illustrated with lantern slides. Dr. J. Hall Pleasants moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Scarff for his delightful talk. Seconded by Mr. Charles Linville, the motion was unanimously carried.

November 11, 1940.—The regular meeting was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair. The list of donations made to the library was read. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Stuart H. Anderson

Miss Ruby Pannel

Mr. Thomas N. Berry

Mr. W. Kennon Perrin

Dr. Charles Branch Clark

Mr. C. E. Steele

Miss Frances Cushing Hewes

Miss Fannie E. Stuart

Mr. T. Courtney Jenkins

Miss Lida Lee Tall

Mr. Howard Darnall Knighton

Mr. George Ross Veazey

Mr. Richard C. Medford

Miss Catherine B. Ward

Mrs. James M. Merritt

Mrs. Frank Atwater Ward

Mrs. James Nicklin

Associate

Mr. Lockwood Barr

Rev. Leo J. McCormick

Mrs. Lockwood Barr

Mrs. George M. Phipps

Mrs. Burton S. Kinsworthy

Mr. Douglas C. Tilghman

The death of Mr. James R. Paine, on October 24, 1940, was reported.

Mr. Hulbert Footner gave a most interesting dramatization of episodes from his new book, *Joshua Barney, Maryland's Picturesque Sailor of Fortune*. A rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Footner by the Society.

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